

of earlier teachers). Therefore, besides the interest that this list of books has for the history of the late Ming Jesuit mission, this library might serve as an example of a late Ming school-library, because it is likely that Philip Sin brought to the residence the books he had used himself. Nevertheless, it cannot be entirely representative for a school-library, because comparison with preserved relevant lists of Ming times shows that several important works are missing, such as Imperial admonitions, morality books, or books on science.¹⁰⁵ In this respect, one might say that the missionaries "replaced" these kind of books by Chinese books about Western science, philosophy and morality (nos. 65-77, 96-102). The list also confirms that, notwithstanding their contacts with gentry and officials, the social status of their converts, who were their main informants, usually did not go beyond that of students, schoolmasters and lower degree-holders, in other words, "the local intellectuals."

¹⁰⁵ For the considerable number of books about scientific subjects, see Grimm (cf. note 60), p. 94. As for the moral tracts, not all of these were strictly Neo-Confucian. Ample use was made of virtuous Buddhists or Taoists to illustrate how much profitable the practice of certain virtues was (Grimm, pp. 97, 98). Of the 15 books, found in most lists of some school-libraries (Grimm, p. 99), several were absent in the Nanking Jesuit library. Notice, however, that for Ming times a relatively small number of such lists is preserved (in contradistinction with Qing times). Therefore, Grimm's list of 15 books is rather a random test (Grimm, pp. 93-94).

SHENGCHAO ZUOPI (1623) BY XU DASHOU:
THE DATE AND BACKGROUND OF
THE LONGEST ANTI-CHRISTIAN ESSAY OF LATE MING TIMES.

Shengchao zuopi (henceforth: *Zuopi*), "Assisting the Holy Dynasty in the Refutation [of Heterodoxy]," composed by Xu Dashou, a native of Deqing near Hangzhou, is the most extensive text in the 'Collection for Destroying Heterodoxy' (*Poxie ji*, 8 *juan*). This collection of some 60 anti-Christian texts (written by 40 authors) was compiled in 1639 and published in 1640. *Zuopi* covers the entire *juan* 4 (ca. 14,400 characters), the most extensive *juan* of this collection.¹ Besides Xu's undated preface (ff. 1a-2b3), the text consists of 10 essays (ff. 2b4-42b7), in each of which he refutes one particular aspect of the teachings of the missionaries. The fact that Jacques Gernet in his *Chine et Christianisme* (1982) translated some forty percent of *Zuopi*² underlines the importance of the text for the understanding of the opposition against Christianity during the late Ming. This opposition, or the way one has to interpret it, is not subject of this paper.³ I will only deal with the contents of *Zuopi* in view of the question when it was written and in which context. Gernet suggested that Xu

¹ Besides 14 folios of introductory materials (prefaces, introduction and table of contents) *Poxie ji* (Japanese reprint of 1855/56) consists of 285 (34 + 38 + 39 + 42 + 31 + 25 + 35 + 41) folios. Each half folio has 10 columns with 18 (sometimes 19 or 20) characters in each column.

² I will refer to Gernet's *Chine et Christianisme* by 'Gernet', while '(Gernet) 1985' refers to the English translation of it by J. Lloyd, *China and the Christian Impact* (1985). Gernet translated a large portion of *Zuopi*, but focused on certain essays. For example, the sixth essay (ff. 19b6-21a6), in which Xu refutes the abolition of the sacrifices to the ancestors (*pi fei si*), is translated almost in its entirety (except ff. 21a3-5): p. 253 (19b6-20a1), 145 (20a1-4), 245/46 (20a4-20b7), 158/59 (20b7-10), 159 (20b10-21a3) and 148 (21a5-6). Most frequently quoted (22 times and translated for some 40%) is the seventh and longest essay (ff. 20b7-33a6, about Christianity and Buddhism, see note 50). The first essay (ff. 2b4-6a3, about the lies concerning the existence of a "Great West") and the ninth essay (ff. 36a3-39a3, about the uselessness of Western "science and technology"), however, Gernet hardly quoted (p. 89, 168, 187, 289, 301). The same applies to the last essay (see note 92), while the preface is not quoted at all. Already Lancashire paid considerable attention to *Zuopi* (1969, pp. 221, 222, 228-231). See also Young (1983), pp. 66, 73; Zürcher (1990a), pp. 418, 419, 423, 424, 426, 452.

³ Gernet's book has been reviewed in several journals, see Zürcher et al. 1991, p. 20. Gernet himself answered in his "Problèmes d'acclimatation du christianisme dans la Chine du XVII^e siècle," in: A. Forest & Yoshiaru Tsuboi (eds.), *Catholicisme et sociétés asiatiques* (Tokyo, 1988), pp. 35-46 (reprinted in J. Gernet, *L'intelligence de la Chine. Le social et le mental* [Paris, 1994], pp. 207-214). Besides reviews, see also Goodman 1990 and Zürcher 1990b.

Although at least one copy of the original edition has been preserved, *Poxie ji* (henceforth: PXJ) is virtually only known through a Japanese reprint.⁶ In September 1855, Tokugawa Nariaki obtained permission from the Bakafu to reprint *Poxie ji* and himself wrote a preface to it. The reprinted copies, dated the winter of the *yimao* year of the Ansei period (10.11.1855-5.2.1856), came off the press towards the end of 1856 and were distributed among the Imperial Court, the Bakafu, and shrines all over the country.⁷ In his introduction (*liyan*), the Japanese editor explains that he has conserved the original lay-out of the book and has not added or skipped a single character, although in his opinion the text, which is sometimes hard to understand, contains corrupt characters. He had only one copy of the text at his disposal, which was damaged in some places, and has left these places blank in the reprint.⁸

The original editor, Xu Changzhi (1582-1672, *juren* of 1633), had received an order in the 7th month (29.8-26.9) of 1639 from the abbot Yuanwu (*hao* Miyun, 1566-1642) to compile a collection of anti-Christian texts (*Pixie ji*). The monk Tongrong (*hao* Feiyin, 1593-1661), a disciple of Yuanwu, supplied the materials, all written by people from Fujian and

⁶ The only copy of the original edition that is known to have been preserved is in the library of Sonseikaku (Tokyo), see *Sonseikaku bunko kanseki bunrui mokuroku* (Tokyo, 1934), p. 328. Lienche Tu Fang mentions another copy preserved in the Zikawei library of Shanghai, see *DMB* 1178a (article on Shen Que). This information is probably based on Dunne, p. 146 (cf. *DMB* 1179a), note 3, who said that there is a copy of *Poxie ji* in the Zikawei library of Shanghai. This copy (actually two copies), now found in Fugen University (Taipei), is a copy of the 1855 reprint (information provided by Dr. N. Standaert, Taipei). *Poxie ji* was reprinted, it seems, also in Cochin China, see *DMB* 1178a; cf. Havret 1897, p. 25, note 2.

⁷ See Richard T. Chang, *From Prejudice to Tolerance. A Study of the Japanese Image of the West 1826-1864* (Tokyo, 1970), p. 59. Cf. Elison (1973) pp. 242-244. Nariaki's preface (in a to me hardly readable cursive script) is included in *Mitogaku taikēi* (A Compendium of Mito Learning), ed. Takasu Yoshijirō, vol. 5, 2nd printing (Tokyo, 1942), pp. 309-310. Copies of the 1855 reprint are found, among others, in Naikaku Bunko, Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris), Library of Congress and Harvard University Library. Recently *Poxie ji* (1855 reprint) and *Pixie ji* (reprint 1861, see below) were reprinted in volume 14 of *Yuan Ming Fojiao pian* (Zhongwen chubanshe, Jinshi Hanji congkan siban, Japan, 1972).

⁸ For example, in *juan* 4 (*Zuopi*) there are three blank spaces at the top of column 9 of folio 19a and of column 2 of folio 19b.

Zhejiang.⁹ Xu arranged the materials, wrote a preface (*Pixie tici*, dated 28 December 1639) and paid for the printing of the collection that came off the press in 1640.¹⁰ An important source must have been another *Poxie ji*, compiled by Huang Zhen slightly earlier—his preface is dated the second month of 1639 (PXJ 3.22a-25a)—but it might not have been printed yet. Xu Changzhi not only arranged the materials, but also omitted, abridged or summarized materials and supplied titles, "removing the meat and keeping the marrow" (PXJ, preface, ff. 3b-4a). Comparison with the collection *Yuandao pixie shuo* (partly reproduced) and other texts that have been preserved outside *Poxie ji*, confirms that he did indeed edit the materials in this way.¹¹ As for *Zuopi*, I assume that Xu Changzhi reproduced the complete original

⁹ Yuanwu himself wrote three anti-Christian essays (*Biantian sanshuo*, dated 15 Sept., 25 Oct. 1635 and 15 Jan. 1636) that were reproduced in *Poxie ji* (7.12a-b, 12b-17a and 17b-30a; cf. Gernet, pp. 110-112, etc.). He wrote them at the request of Huang Zhen (see f. 12a3), a native of Zhangzhou (Fujian), who since 1634 had tried to stop the preaching of Christianity in Fujian. In 1635 he wrote a pamphlet (*Buren buyan*, preface of ca. 21 June, 1635, PXJ 7.5a-11b) urging the Buddhist clergy to come to the defence of Buddhism and to refute Christianity. Yuanwu quotes this pamphlet (f. 12a5-6 = 10b2-3) and tells that Huang had showed him Christian books. This suggests that towards 1635 Yuanwu heard for the first of the Christian teachings. Already in 1625, however, he must have known something of the Christian teachings, although then he seems not to have been alarmed about it. In Yuanwu's *Chronological Biography* (preface by Tongrong, autumn 1644) we read *sub* Tianqi 5 (1625): "He answered a letter from Chen Zeliang, who had asked for instruction in the Way. Chen happened to be a follower of the teachings of the Lord of Heaven. In his letter there were many statements made by Taixi Li Madou (Matteo Ricci from the Great West). The Master answered him very extensively" (*Miyun chanshi nianpu*, f. 27a3-4, appendix to *Miyun chanshi yulu*; ZHDZJ 37/158, p. 15575). Chen Liang (zi: Zeliang), a native of Haiyan (Zhejiang) and student at the Imperial Academy, became a disciple of Zhuhong at age of 17, who gave him the Buddhist name Guangji. After the fall of the Ming he became a recluse and called himself Geting heshang, pretending to be a Chan monk. See *Haiyan xianzhi* (Huazhong 207; Taipei 1975), 19.5b-6a (p. 2072); *Mingshi jishi*, xin, 23.3178; *Mingshi zong* 76.12a. He was an acquaintance of Li Rihua (1565-1635), who wrote prefaces to Chen's works; see *Tianzhi tang ji* (1635; Taipei 1971), 13.25b-27a, 15.24a-25a (cf. 5.4a-b). Yu Shunxi wrote a preface to Chen's *Xianyuan ji* (cf. QQ 28.683), see *Deyuan ji* (1623; NLP microfilm 813), 5.10b-11b.

¹⁰ *Wuyi daoren lu* (the autobiography of Xu Changzhi), 1.2b1-2 (*Fufa shimo*, ff. 1a-4b, 1656), in: ZHDZJ 90/158, p. 37533 (speaking of *Pixie ji*); Xu's preface (*Pixie tici*) to *Poxie ji*, f. 2a, 3b (also, with slight differences, in *Wuyi daoren lu*, 2.7a-8a, pp. 37545-37546); Tongrong's *Chronological Biography* (*Fuyan Feiyin Rong chanshi jinian lu*, 1.22b9-10 (Chongzhen 13, 1640, speaking of *Poxie ji*), appendix to *Feiyin chanshi yulu*, ZHDZJ 101/178, p. 42126.

¹¹ For some examples, see above (chapter 1 of the first article). An example of a title probably supplied by Xu is *Li shuo huangtang huoshi* "The theories of Ricci are incoherent and deceive the world" (PXJ 3.37a-39b; Gernet, p. 66, 88) by Wei Jun (*jinshi* of 1604 and a native of Songqi in Jianning Prefecture, Fujian). This essay is probably only a part of, or a selection from, his *Wei tan* (Spare talks; 1 *juan*). According to the review in *Siku quanshu zongmu* (Tianwen suanfa lei cunmu), the author of this book especially slandered Ricci's astronomical theories as incoherent [*Li* Madou tianlun wei *huangtang*] (107.911).

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text (1 *juan*), as it covers an entire *juan*. Xu Dashou mentions at the end of his preface (PXJ 4.2b3) that his refutation consists of ten essays (*shipian*). The text, as found in PXJ, does indeed consist of ten essays. Sometimes Xu Dashou refers to statements he made earlier in his *Zuopi* and all these statements are found in the present text. So the text seems to be complete. As no copy of the original edition of *Zuopi*, however, has been preserved (as far as I know), one cannot be sure that Xu Changzhi did not omit some sentences.¹²

Yuandao pixie shuo (1636)

This collection of anti-Christian texts, in which *Zuopi* is once quoted (see below), is also mainly known through a reprint, published in Japan.¹³ It is part of the collection entitled *Hekijashū* or *Pixie ji* (not to be confounded with the first text it contains, *Pixie ji* of 1643). This collection was published, or even reprinted, by Ugai Tetsujō (1814-1891, religious name: Kiyū Dōnin), the seventy-fifth *monshu* (abbot) of the Chion'in at Kyoto, the headquarters of the Jōdo (Pure Land) School.¹⁴

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The first *juan* of *Pixie ji* consists of *Pixie ji* (1643, see below) and, starting again with folio 1, *Tianxue chupi* by the monk Ruchun (a work also found in *Poxie ji*).¹⁵ A preface by Kiyū Dōnin, dated the 8th month of Manen 1 (1860), precedes this *juan* (*Fanke Pixie ji xu*, in a different lithography).

The second *juan* (like the first *juan* with half folios of 10 columns and 20 characters in each column) contains *Yuandao pixie shuo*, a collection published by Tongrong in 1636. Xu Changzhi only partly reproduced it in his *Poxie ji* (see below). The collection consists

¹² Especially the kind of sentences that are interesting from a bibliographical viewpoint. In at least one text Xu Changzhi erased the information where it was written (see note 16). In another text he erased the sentence that says to which book it was appended (see below). But in this respect he was not always consistent (see above, first article, note 63).

¹³ A copy of the original edition is in Naikaku Bunko (not consulted).

¹⁴ Elison (1973), p. 443 note 112. In 1861 Ugai Tetsujō also published *Hekija kankenroku* (Notes from a private viewpoint concerning the refutation of heresy), a collection of both Chinese and Japanese anti-Christian texts that I have not consulted; see Notto R. Thelle, *Buddhism and Christianity in Japan. From Conflict to Dialogue, 1854-1899* (Honolulu, 1987), p. 27; Elison (1973), p. 456 note 67, and p. 505 (*Byakuja kankenroku*). The title suggests that the first text in this collection is *Pixie guanlian lu* (see above, first article, notes 163-164).

¹⁵ PXJ 8.26a-41b. Both versions are the same. This points to the possibility that Xu Changzhi also reproduced *Zuopi* fully, unless *Tianxue chupi* was reproduced by Ugai Tetsujō from *Poxie ji*.

of a preface, a table of contents of *Yuandao pixie shuo* (1 folio), 15 essays (47 folios) and an untitled and anonymous postscript (1 unnumbered folio). The postface (*ba*), signed by both Kiyū Dōnin and another monk (ff. 1a-2b, different lithography, margin: *Pixie ji*, *juan xia*) only speaks of *Yuandao pixie shuo* and is dated the second month of *xinyou* (1861).

The preface by Liu Wenlong (*zi Yunzi*) from Linchuan (prefectural city of Fuzhou Prefecture, Jiangxi), is dated the summer of Chongzhen 9 (1636, 5.5-31.7). It was written at the Fu mountain (in Jian'ou county, Jianning Prefecture, Fujian).¹⁶

The first four essays (1a-16b1; PXJ 8.3a-20a), the titles of which starts with '*Jie xiejian...*' (Revealing the... of the heterodox views), refute the first four of the eight sections of Ricci's *Tianzhu shiyi*. They were composed by Tongrong at the Huangbo mountain (the Wanfu monastery in Fuqing, Fujian).¹⁷

The fifth essay, *Zhuxie xianju lu* (Evident grounds for eradicating heterodoxy; 16b2-19b8) by Li Wangting (*zi Youlong*) from Xi'ou (Ouning county in Jianning Prefecture, Fujian), is only partly reproduced in *Poxie ji* (6.18a-19b = 16b2-18a1). Moreover, Xu Changzhi erased the sentence (f. 16a9-10) that says that this text is an appendix to three memorials: by Shen Que, Yan Wenhui and a certain Yang.¹⁸

The following ten short essays (nos. 6-15, ff. 19b-47a) were not reproduced by Xu. They were written by five monks: two essays by Xingji from Gupu (Putian, Fujian); one essay by Jiji from Fuqing (Fujian); five essays by Xingyuan from Zhangzhou (Fujian); one essay by Xingqian from Puyang (Pujiang county in Jinhua Prefecture, Zhejiang) and one essay by Xingwen from Lanxi (Jinhua, Zhejiang).¹⁹

¹⁶ The preface (ff. 1a-2a) is entitled *Tongzheng xu* (PXJ 8.1a-2a). Xu Changzhi omitted the six characters *shu yu Fu shan fangzhang* (2a).

¹⁷ The first column of folio 1a of the main text of this collection gives the title: *Yuandao pixie shuo*, the second column the author (Feiyin Tongrong) and the third column the title of the first essay (*Jie xiejian genyuan*). The same is given by Xu Changzhi (PXJ 8.3a1-3). In the index of *Poxie ji*, however, Xu refers to the four essays (*Jie xiejian...*) only by the collective title *Yuandao pixie shuo* (*fan si*). This is confusing, as it suggests that *Yuandao pixie shuo* is the collective title of Tongrong's four essays. In his preface, Liu Wenlong speaks of *Xingming zhengjie* by Feiyin and *Pixie shuo* by the other gentlemen [*zhugong*] (f. 2a2).

¹⁸ Notice that Huang Zhen (see above), before he composed his *Poxie ji*, had the memorials of Shen Que reprinted. For more details, see above (article 1, note 62).

¹⁹ - Xingji, nos. 6-7 (ff. 19b9-25a4): *Zunzheng shuo* (On revering orthodoxy) and *Zhe Li ouyan* (Casual remarks disgracing Ricci),

- Jiji, no. 8 (ff. 25a5-33a3): *Zhaojian* (Exposing their craftiness),

- Xingyuan, nos. 9-13 (ff. 33a4-43a3): *Wei yixiezhe yan* (Reproach of those who help the

Of these five monks at least two, Xingji (nos. 6-7) and Xingyuan (nos. 9-13), stayed in the Wanfu monastery, where Tongrong had been abbot since November 1633. About Xingji (*hao* Langzhen) there is hardly any biographical information.²⁰ In 1635 Tongrong ordered him and Xingyuan to revise the monograph on the Wanfu monastery (*Huangbo zhi*).²¹ Xingyuan (*hao* Baichi, 1611-1662), a native of Zhangpu county in Zhangzhou Prefecture, Fujian, and son of Cai Congcheng (*zi* Zihai) became a monk in the 5th month of 1633. In the spring of 1634 he was sent to the Wanfu monastery, where a few months later he became second deputy abbot (*xitang*). From 1638 to 1641, he was second deputy abbot of the Jinsu monastery in Haiyan (Xu Changzhi's native place) and from 1648 to 1654 first deputy abbot (*shouzu*) of the same monastery.²² His autobiography (1657) is found in *juan* 29 (ff. 1a-4a) of *Baichi chanshi yulu* (30 *juan*, preface by, among others, Xu Changzhi,

heterodox), *Daiyi xu lueji* (Short note on the preface to the *Daiyi* [*pian*]), *Wujing zhenglue* (Summary of the proofs in a false book), *Fei Yang pian* (Against Yang [Tingyun]) and *Yuanwen chenxin* (Straightforward answers to questions),

- Xingqian, no. 14 (ff. 43a4-45b10): *Ranxi* (Lighting [the horn] of the rhinoceros),

- Xingwen, no. 15 (ff. 46a1-47a10): *Baxie lueyin* (Short introduction rooting up heterodoxy).

As indicated on the last folio (after folio 47, see above) Yang Tingyun (and especially his *Daiyi pian*) was the main target in these essays. The essays nos. 12, 14 and 15 have been nearly completely translated by Standaert 1988, pp. 163-164; 166-168, 172; 173-174; see also p. 162 (essay no. 9) and pp. 164-165 (no. 10). The 11th essay (*Wujing zhenglue*) is a refutation of *Tianxue zhengfu* (Proofs for [the truth of] the Heavenly Teachings), composed by Zhang Geng, a disciple of Yang Tingyun. The copy of *Pixie ji* (1861) that I consulted contains some remarks written by Chen Yuan in the upper margins and was given by Chen to the Peking Library in 1919 (microfilm acquired by Nicolas Standaert).

²⁰ His biography in *Wudeng quanshu* (Complete Book of the Five Lamps, 1693) only gives a few examples of his sermons, see DMZ 138, j. 70, p. 235a-b (Langzhen [Xing-ji], preceding that of Baichi [Xing-yuan]). It merely says that he (a native of Putian) was a disciple of Feiyin [Tong-]rong and (apparently later) stayed in the Yunfeng monastery (Quanzhou, Fujian). Cf. Yukei 1979, p. 48, no. 561.

²¹ See *Chronological Biography of Feiyin* (cf. note 10), 1.18b5 (p. 42124). He is always mentioned before Xingyuan (as in *Pixie ji*, which seems to imply a hierarchical order) and immediately after Longqi (Yinyuan, 1592-1673; DMB 1020-1022); cf. 2.23b5 (p. 42139, list of disciples at the end of *Chronological Biography*). See also *Feiyin chanshi yulu*, *juan* 11 (fayu), f. 1a-3b (pp. 42066-42067): Yinyuan (1a-1b), Langzhen (1b-3a), Baichi (3a-b). The monograph of the Wanfu monastery (*Huangbo si zhi*, 3 *juan*), composed by Xingji and Xingyuan, was published in 1637; see T. Brook, *Geographical Sources of Ming-Qing History* (Ann Arbor, 1988), p. 214, N9.

²² In a poem (undated) he describes his visit to Xu's studio, Daye tang (*Baichi chanshi yulu*, j. 30, f. 14a; ZHDZJ 109/202, pp. 45149-45509). At this place Xu signed his preface to *Poxie ji*. The text of it, as found in Xu's autobiography *Wuyi daoren lu* (cf. note 10), is followed by a eulogy composed by Baichi (Xing-)Yuan.

dated 1661).²³

I did not find any further information about Jiji (no. 8), but assume that around 1636 he was living in the Wanfu monastery in his native county. Xingqian (no. 14, native of Jinhua) is probably Jang'an Qian, a disciple of Feiyin Tongrong, about whom there is hardly any biographical information.²⁴ The author of the last essay, Xingwen (*hao* Fogu, 1610-1666), was a native of Sichuan and had been sent to a monastery at the age of four (5 *sui*). In 1630 he moved from Sichuan to Nanking. From 1661 to 1665, he stayed in monasteries in Peking, where he met the Shunzhi emperor (1644-1661), presenting him with the *yulu* (recorded sayings) of his master Tongqi (*hao* Linye, 1595-1652, a disciple of Yuanwu as was Tongrong). Xingwen's funeral inscription (1669), composed by Gong Dingzi (1616-1673), is silent about the period 1630-1643.²⁵ Although not a disciple of Feiyin, he might have lived for some time (around 1636) in the Wanfu monastery.²⁶

Yuandao pixie shuo is mentioned as a composition of Tongrong in his *Chronological Biography* under Chongzhen 9 (1636):

The Master, 44 *sui*, left Huangbo in the spring and went to the Dizang monastery in Jianning. In the summer Li Youlong (Li Wangting) of Xi'ou visited the Master ... (conversation about reincarnation). That autumn the monk Qingyu invited him to preside over the Lianfeng monastery (in Ouning county). The *waihan* (instructor [*jiaoshou*] of a prefectural school) Shangguan Xian and the gentry Liu Yunzi (Liu Wenlong) and Li Youlong all listened to

²³ Xu Changzhi's *Gaoseng zheyao* (A Sketch of Eminent Monks; 1654) contains a short biography of Xingyuan, see *juan* 3, ff. 60a-61b (ZHDZJ 90/124, p. 37370). According to his biography in *Wudeng quanshu* (cf. note 20), he died on 27 September 1662 (Kangxi renyin, 16.VIII) and ten months later appeared to his disciples in Pinghu (Zhejiang). For his *yulu* (Recorded Sayings) that include his autobiography (pp. 45487-45488), see note 22. Cf. Yukei 1979, p. 48, no. 562. I did not find any mention of his five anti-Christian essays in either the *yulu* (that start in 1641) or in the biographies of Xingyuan.

²⁴ His biography in *Wudeng quanshu* (cf. note 20) only contains some examples of his preaching (j. 71, p. 243b-c). Cf. Yukei 1979, p. 49, no. 579.

²⁵ See *Fogu Wen chanshi yulu* (4 *juan*), in: ZHDZJ 144/364, pp. 61639-61668 (funeral inscription, *taming*, appendix to *juan* 4, ff. 1a-5a, pp. 61666-61668); *Wudeng quanshu*, 78.309b-309d. Cf. Chen Yuan 1964, p. 427; Yukei 1979, p. 65, no. 857 (Xingwen); p. 34, no. 331 (Tongqi). For Gong Dingzi, see ECCP 431a-b.

²⁶ The last two essays (nos. 14 and 15) are signed at Jinhua (Zhejiang). As Xingqian (no. 14) was a disciple of Tongrong, Xingwen might also have been one of his disciples for a time. Anyway both his master, Tongqi, and Tongrong were disciples of Yuanwu.

his instructions and from morning to evening they consulted him. Yan Zhuangqi (Yan Maoyou), a member of the gentry of Zhangzhou, having read the *yulu* of the Master, reverently paid him a visit and asked him to explain the Great Law. Ye Taijiao asked for a eulogy of his deceased father and one for the picture of the Master. As people from the West had invented the teachings of the Lord of Heaven and slandered the Buddha, the Master wrote *Yuandao pixie* in one *juan*.²⁷

Although, according to this entry, *Yuandao pixie shuo* was written by Tongrong, it is striking that, except Qingyu and Ye Taijiao, the people mentioned in it, Li Wangting, Liu Wenlong, Yan Maoyou and (probably) Shangguan Xian were engaged in anti-Christian activities around that very time.

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Liu Wenlong, in his preface to *Yuandao pixie shuo* (entitled *Tongzheng xu*), tells that in the summer of 1636 he visited the magistrates of Jian'an county and Ouning county. He then heard that the teachings of the Lord of Heaven had already spread to Jianning Prefecture several years before. When he visited Li Youlong (Li Wangting) and Shangguan Fahu, a native of Taoyuan in Chu (Shangguan Xian),²⁸ he obtained *Xingming zhengjie* (The correct explanation of human nature) by Feiyin and *Pixie shuo* (Essays in refutation of heterodoxy) by the other gentlemen (*zhugong*). *Xingming zhengjie* must refer to the four *Jie xiejian* essays by Feiyin that refute Ricci's teachings about creation, God, the immortality of the soul etc. *Pixie shuo* by the other gentlemen cannot but refer to the ten essays written by Feiyin's disciples. The only remaining essay is that by Li Wangting that was originally appended to a reprint (probably the one that Huang Zhen had published) of anti-Christian memorials of 1616/1617. In his essay Li Wangting tells that a few years before he had met Aleni (who visited Jianning in November 1633)²⁹ on the Huanghua mountain in Jianning and in the

²⁷ *Feiyin jinian lu* (cf. note 10), 1.19a (p. 42124).

²⁸ Fahu is the courtesy name (*zi*) or the lay Buddhist name of Shangguan Xian (mentioned in the entry of Tongrong's *Chronological Biography* just quoted). According to the same source (under Chongzhen 7, 1634) the *guangwen* (instructor) Shangguan Xian wrote a preface to Tongrong's *Huangbo kanyu* (1 *juan*). Shangguan Xian, a native of Taoyuan (Huguang) and a *suigong* of ca. 1629, became *xundao* (assistant instructor) of Guizhou county (Huguang), see *Taoyuan xianzhi* (Huazhong difang 111), 8.17a (the first *suigong* of the Chongzhen period).

²⁹ See *Kouduo richao* (Diary of Oral Exhortations; Courant 7114), *juan* 5, f. 1a (23.X [November 24th]), conversation with a certain Lai (*zi* Shizhang) about Buddhism (ff. 1a-7b) and *Lixiu yijian* (A Mirror for the Exhortation to [Self]-cultivation; Courant 6878), *juan* 2, f. 33b (1633, 10th month).

church there. He was greatly alarmed by the contents of the books Aleni had given him (*Pixie ji* [1861], 2.18b).

The presence of Yan Maoyou from Zhangzhou (Fujian), the teacher of Huang Zhen, is also revealing. In 1634 Huang had written a letter to Yan (PXJ 3.8a3-11b7)³⁰ asking him to come into action against Christianity. Because of the mourning period for his mother, Yan only answered towards the end of 1637, by way of a preface to Huang's *Poxie ji*.³¹

Around the time that Huang wrote his letter to Yan, he also wrote *Buren buyan* (I cannot afford not to speak) to arouse the interest of Buddhist monks in refuting Christianity. This essay has a preface by Zeng Shi, dated the summer-solstice (ca. 21 June) of 1635. Tongrong's teacher Yuanwu quoted this essay in September 1635 and also Xingyuan in one of his essays.³² So one might take *Yuandao pixie shuo* as another result of Huang Zhen's campaign against the missionaries and their converts.

Pixie ji (1643)

Pixie ji is a collection of two short texts, the preface to which is dated the autumn of 1643. The first text, *Tianxue chuzheng* (6 folios), is a refutation of 22 "absurdities" found in *Shengxiang lüeshuo* (1619) by João da Rocha and Xu Guangqi.³³ The second text, *Tianxue zaizheng* (17 folios), is a refutation of Ricci's *Tianzhu shiyi* (quoted as *Xilai yi*; 11

For the *Diary*, see Zürcher 1990a (p. 429); for the *Mirror*, see id. 1990a (pp. 444-449) and 1985.

³⁰ Huang must have written the letter in 1634, as Yan received it while he was in Peking (see Yan's preface to the PXJ). In March-April 1634 Yan was in Peking for the *jinshi* examinations (MS 70.1707; cf. GQ 93.5629, 5631, 5634). On 28 July of that year he presented seven of his books to the Emperor (GQ 93.5646). Shortly after receiving Huang's letter he had to go home, as his mother had died. He could only answer the letter after the mourning period. For Huang's letter to Yan, see above (article 1, note 139). For Yan Maoyou, see Gernet, p. 275, note 5.

³¹ PXJ 3.4a-b, dated the 10th month (16.11-15.12). In the summer of 1637 (4th or 5th month), he also wrote letters to Tongrong, see *Feiyin jinian lu* (cf. note 10) 1.19b8.

³² Cf. note 9. Xingyuan quotes it in his *Yuanwen chenxin*, see *Pixie ji* (1861), *juan* 2, f. 42b5-6 = PXJ 7.8a5-6.

³³ The text (transmitted, *shu*, by Xu Guangqi) with the variant title *Zaowu zhu chuixiang lüeshuo* (BAV, BC 334.21), has been reproduced in WXS 2.549-562. The 22 "absurdities" (*qi bu tong zhe*) are based on 14 quotations from this text: p. 549 (1), 552-558 (2-10), 560 (11-12) and 561 (13-14). Gernet quotes about the half of these "absurdities": p. 105, 146, 227 (note), 245, 299/300, 301, 306, 310, 313/314, 315 (note), 318.

quotations), Giulio Aleni's *Sanshan lunxue ji* (ca. 1627; 11 quotations) and João Soeiro's *Shengjiao yueyan* (1600; 6 quotations).³⁴

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The author of these two refutations was the monk Zhixu (1599-1655), one of the four leading Buddhist monks of the late Ming. He published it under his secular name, Zhong Shisheng (zi Zhenzhi).³⁵ Also the names of Gao'an Dalang, the monk who wrote the preface, and of Jiming, the monk who wrote two letters in reply to two letters of Zhong Zhenzhi (these four letters are reproduced after the preface) are only alternative names for Zhixu.³⁶ It is not clear whether the text was published in 1643. Not long afterwards (before 1659, see note 35) it was included in the Continuation (*Xu Zang*) of the Jiaxing Canon.³⁷ In this Canon *Pixie ji* is appended to a collection of "strange stories," *Jianwen lu*, noted down by Zhixu.³⁸ After its inclusion in the Jiaxing Canon—from which the philosopher and statesman

³⁴ See Gernet, pp. 107, 201, 268/269 and 284 (*Tianzhu shiyi*, cf. note 40); pp. 72, 287/88 and 314 (*Sanshan lunxue ji*).

³⁵ *Pixie ji* (2 juan, printing blocks in the Lengyan monastery of Jiaxing) is mentioned in the list of Zhixu's works compiled by his disciple Chengshi (1618-1678); see *Lingfeng Ouyi dashi zonglun* (colophon of Chengshi, winter 1659), *juan shou*, f. 18b6 (ZHDZJ 142/348, p. 60472). The identification of Zhong Shisheng with Zhixu was already made by Chen Yuan: 1980, p. 207 (article published in 1934) and 1941, p. 15. See also below, note 38.

³⁶ Ōchō Enichi (1950, pp. 27-36) gave convincing evidence that the monk Gao'an Dalang, who wrote the preface, and the Chan master Jiming, who wrote a reply to each of the two letters sent to him by Zhong, are none other than Zhixu himself. Jiming was another of his personal names (*ming*). In 1621 he adopted the name of upāsaka Dalang (cf. *DMB*, p. 245). The author used his secular name, because he wrote the two treatises from the viewpoint of a Confucianist (like Zhuhong who signed his letter to Ricci with Shen). See also Shi Shengyan (1988), pp. 51-56, 163.

³⁷ The printing of the Jiaxing canon started at the end of the 16th century in the Lengyan monastery at Jiaxing. It was printed in ordinary book form and, therefore, also called the *Fangce* Canon. Cf. *DMB* 1:141.

³⁸ ZHDZJ 89/119, pp. 36896-36907 (*Jianwen lu*) and 89/120, pp. 36908-36921 (*Pixie ji*). Chen Yuan already wrote in his personal copy of *Pixie ji* (cf. note 19) that Zhong Zhenzhi is Zhixu's secular name and that his *Pixie ji* (1643) is found in the *Xu zang* of the Jiaxing Canon after *Jianwen lu*. The volume, containing *Jianwen lu* and *Pixie ji*, is also found in the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris (Courant 5858 III-V). It is bound with a volume from the Second Continuation (*Yu Xu zang*) of the Jiaxing Canon (Courant 5858 I-II, d.d. 1678; *Yu Xu zang*, nos. 400-401 [375-376], see ZHDZJ, shoubian, shangce, p. 333). The order in these two volumes, and in that published by Fang Hao (cf. note 40), is not the same: in the ZHDZJ edition, the four letters (correspondence between Zhong Zhenzhi and Jiming) are appended after the main text (before the postface); in Courant 5858, they are found at the beginning (before the preface); and in the volume owned by Fang Hao, before the main text (after the preface).

Arai Hakuseki (1657-1725) quoted *Pixie ji*³⁹—it was reprinted in 1861 by Ugai Tetsujō, in 1966 by Fang Hao,⁴⁰ in 1968 (reprint of the Jiaxing Canon) and in 1972 (see note 7).

In his preface, the author of *Pixie ji* (1643) mentions *Zuopi*. He remarks that since the arrival of the missionaries in China, Buddhists had tried to refute them, but that it had only resulted in some slander of them. "Only *Shengchao zuopi* was able to make the tongues of the heterodox adepts bound, but unfortunately the book did not circulate widely." As their adepts had been growing in number recently, he felt compelled to compose another refutation.⁴¹ The remark confirms again the importance of Xu Dashou's book.

After this introduction about these three late Ming anti-Christian collections I will first turn to the author of *Zuopi*, before dealing with the text itself.

³⁹ In his *Seiyō kibun* (Tidings of the West; drafted in 1715; cf. Elison, pp. 238-241) and in the postface (1713) to his *Sairan igen* (Listening to other languages), there is a reference to the statement in *Pixie ji* that Ricci did not come from the Great West (preface, f. 1a, Ricci and Aleni), but that he was a native of Macao (*Tianxue zaizheng*, f. 14a4, speaking of the missionaries in general). See *Seiyō kibun*, ed. by Miyazaki Michio (Tōyō bunka, no. 113; Tokyo, 1968), p. 74 and 321; cf. Nakayama Kushirō (Zhou Yiliang, transl.), "Li Madou zhuan," in: *Yū-kung* 5 (1936), no. 3-4, p. 15.

⁴⁰ WXXB 2.905-960. In 1946 or 1947 Fang Hao bought in a bookshop in Peking a volume containing Zhixu's *Jianwen lu* and Zhong Shisheng's *Pixie ji*; see bibliographical note at the beginning of the just mentioned collection (WXXB 1.29-30). He did not realize (nor did Gernet, p. 22, who relied on Fang Hao's information) that in fact he had acquired a volume of the Jiaxing Canon, and that Zhixu was also the author of *Pixie ji*. One of the reasons Fang Hao published this seemingly unknown collection was the fact that it contains eleven quotations from a hitherto unknown Christian text, *Xilai yi*. The quotations of this text (see pp. 925-939), however, are taken from Ricci's *Tianzhu shiyi* (TXCH 1.377-636): p. 925 = p. 382/83; 926 = 384; 927 = 393; 929 = 397; 930 = 415; 934 = 430; 936 = 470; 937 = 473/74; 938 = 481; 939 = 504; 939 = 622. So *Xilai yi* is merely a variant title of *Tianzhu shiyi*. Cf. Iso Kern, "Matteo Riccis Verhältnis zum Buddhismus," in: *Monumenta Serica* 36 (1983-85), p. 107 (translating p. 937).

⁴¹ *Pixie ji xu*, f. 1a-b (WXXB 2.905-906).

XU DASHOU

Biographical information about Xu Dashou is difficult to come by. When bibliographies mention his *Zuopi*, the only accompanying information noted about the author is his *zi* (Kuoru) and the name of his father, Xu Fuyuan (1535-1604, *jinshi* of 1562), a native of Deqing county (Huzhou Prefecture, Zhejiang). His father, a high official and well-known philosopher,⁴² had been governor of Fujian (January 1593 - December 1594) and had finally become Left Vice Minister of the Nanking Ministry of War. Having died on 20 August 1604, he was posthumously appointed, on 26 May 1605, to Minister of the Nanking Ministry of Works and a son was allowed "by protection" to enter the National Academy as a student.⁴³ According to the inscription (on the stele erected in front of the avenue leading to Xu's burial place, *shendao bei*), composed by Sun Kuang (1542-1613), this student was his only son, Xu Dashou.⁴⁴ Xu asked Ye Xianggao (1562-1627), who had known the former governor of Fujian well, to compose the funeral inscription (in 1609 or 1610).⁴⁵ Besides the names of Xu Fuyuan's ancestors, who since the early Ming had settled on Deqing mountain,⁴⁶ Ye provides the information that he had two sons, Yuanshou and Dashou. Xu Yuanshou had already died young and Xu Dashou was the only son, when his father—who also had eleven daughters, two grandsons and one grand-daughter—died. Xu Dashou, a *xiuca* and student at the National Academy, married a daughter of the *jinshi* Sun Hongxu (*zi* Maogong), a

⁴² See Gernet, p. 21 (1985, p. 12).

⁴³ Wu Tingxie (1982), p. 510; *GQ* 76.4689 (Wanli 20, 10.XII), 76.4740 (Wanli 22, 1.XI); *SZSL* 398.7484 (Wanli 32, 15.VII), 406.7578 (Wanli 33, 13.II), 408.7611 (Wanli 33, 9.IV).

⁴⁴ *GCXZL* j. 41, ff. 31-37 (vol. 3, pp. 1696-1699), f. 36a. Sun Kuang must have composed this inscription as Minister of the Nanking Ministry of War. He served in this function he served from 1 January 1606 until 26 October 1609 (*GQ* 80.4948: Wanli 33, 23.XI; 81.5011: Wanli 37, 29.IX).

⁴⁵ Ye writes that it was already 16 to 17 (15 to 16) years ago that one had celebrated in Fujian Xu Fuyuan's sixtieth birthday (born on 26 November 1535, he was 60 *sui* in 1594). Therefore, Ye must have composed this inscription in late 1609 or in 1610. The funeral inscription is found in his *Cangxia cao*, j. 16, ff. 7-16 (see esp. f. 13b/14a). For Ye Xianggao, see *DMB* 2.1567-1570.

⁴⁶ Deqing mountain, also called Wu shan, is located east of the town of Deqing. In his *Deqing shan guan ji* Xu Fuyuan described the mansions at the foot of the mountain and its surroundings, see *Huzhou fuzhi* 26.23a (vol. 2, p. 528). The Xu's are sometimes designated as people from Wushan.

native of Changxing county (Huzhou Prefecture).⁴⁷ Later (before September 1620) he was "promoted by protection" (*yinli*) to Director of a Bureau in the Ministry of Justice.⁴⁸ The most recent biographical information found about Xu Dashou is that in the spring of 1628 he composed an inscription for a stele erected in front of the Confucian school in Deqing.⁴⁹

Besides his classical education, Xu Dashou studied Taoism and especially Buddhism, to which he refers several times.⁵⁰ Xu had been a lay devotee of the monk Zhuhong (1535-1615).⁵¹ In his *Zuopi* he mentions the opinion of the monk Gude about Christian converts. Gude told him that "once someone was introduced to their vicious doctrine, it was like an

⁴⁷ Ye Xianggao, who wrote this around 1610, calls him a *juren*, which Sun had become in 1606. The following year (1607), however, he already became a *jinshi*. See *Huzhou fuzhi*, 72.59b (p. 1378) and 12.27a (p. 234).

⁴⁸ *Deqing xianzhi* (1673) 6.31a (p. 341): *xingbu langzhong* (Wanli period). Possibly this nomination was only honorary. Also Xu Fuyuan's father, Xu Song, was nominated to Director of a Bureau of the Ministry of Personnel, and his grandfather, Xu Fu, posthumously to Vice Minister of the Ministry of War. See *Deqing xianzhi* 6.29a (p. 337). Cf. *Huzhou fuzhi*, 16.54a (vol. 1, p. 346).

⁴⁹ *Huzhou fuzhi*, 53.44a (vol. 3, p. 1022). A grandson of Xu Fuyuan, Xu Yuanzhao, got his *juren* degree in 1627 (*Deqing xianzhi* 6.16a, p. 311). As Xu Fuyuan in fact had only one son (Xu Dashou), Xu Yuanzhao must have been a son of Xu Dashou. Xu Yuanzhao's son, Xu Wei, became a *jinshi* in 1659 (*Deqing xianzhi* 6.10a, p. 299). Cf. *Huzhou fuzhi*, 12.32a, 13.3a (vol. 1, pp. 236, 240). In the summer of 1620, Xu Yuanzhao recorded *Zongmen shenan*, a conversation between his master, the Buddhist monk Mailang Minghuai (Yukei 1979, no. 299) and a visitor. This conversation was printed by Cai Wu from Deqing (a *gongsheng* of the Wanli period, see *Deqing xianzhi* 6.26b, p. 332) and Zhuo Fazhi from Hangzhou and reproduced in *DMZ*, series 2, box 32, vol. 5, pp. 501b-507b (cf. *ZHDZJ*, shoubian, xiace, p. 584, no. 1429).

⁵⁰ Gernet, p. 21. Besides the 7th essay that deals with the missionaries "who steal from Buddhism that they blame at the same time" (*PXJ* 4.20b7-33a6), see also f. 1b10, 2a1-4, 3a3, 8b4, 8b10, 10b5, 10b9 (Gernet, p. 256), 11a2 (228), 11a8, 12b1 (320), 13a5-13a9-13b1 (315), 16a1-3 (74), 16a5, 16b1-3, 19a10, 35a3-4 (146), 37b5-8 and 38a6. As for Taoism, see f. 2a4, 8b5, 8b6-7 (quotation from Zhang Boduan's postface [1078] to his *Wuzhen pian*, Daozang 141, houxu, f. 1a9-10), 8b10, 14b7 (quotation from *Daode jing* 38) and 25a4-5 (Gernet, p. 282; quotations from *Daode jing* 7 and 59).

⁵¹ *Yunqi fahui*, the collected works of Zhuhong (*DMB* 322-324) contains a letter of Zhuhong to Xu Kuoru, the retired scholar Guangyue of Deqing (*Yunqi yigao*, j. 2, f. 25a; *ZHDZJ*, series 2, vol. 129, p. 54784: Da Deqing Xu Kuoru jushi Guangyue). Kuoru is the courtesy name of Xu Dashou (see above). Many of Zhuhong's lay devotees had religious names beginning with Guang (*o.c.*, pp. 54942-54943). The greatest part of the (short) letter of Zhuhong to Xu Dashou (dealing with meditation) was translated by Yü Chun-fang, *The Renewal of Buddhism in China. Chu-hung and the Late Ming Synthesis* (New York, 1981), p. 95. Xu Dashou is mentioned there as Xu Geru (Hsü Ko-ju, cf. glossary, p. 317), whom could not be identified (p. 285, note 89). The edition of *Yunqi fahui* that I consulted clearly reads "Kuoru" instead of Geru (see also the index of this chapter, p. 54772).

evil seed in the field of the eight forms of knowledge, like oil in flour, where it is impossible to get rid of it. So their crime is very serious and I do not know when a man will appear who is capable of bringing aid to the Buddhist Law" (*Zuopi*, f. 31b).⁵² Very little is known about Gude (Daxian), except that he was a monk of the Yunqi monastery in Hangzhou, and a disciple of Zhuhong.⁵³ Zhixu—who in his *Pixie ji* of 1643 expressed his admiration for Xu's *Zuopi* (see above)—had studied in 1623 and 1624 under Gude (Daxian) and received from him the bodhisattva's rules.⁵⁴ Apparently Xu Dashou felt he had to comply with the wish of Gude's by writing *Zuopi*.

⁵² Gernet, p. 141 (1985, pp. 103-104).

⁵³ Gude wrote an explanation of Zhuhong's well known commentary (1584) on the Lesser Sukhāvativyūha Sutra, *Fo shuo Amito jing shuchao yanyi* (cf. *DMB* 323) that he composed after the death of Zhuhong in 1615 (see beginning of first *juan*, p. 265d), see *DMZ*, series 1, box 33, vol. 3-4 (pp. 265-356, reprint by Weicheng, preface of 1752). Zhuhong was one of the first Buddhists who wrote a refutation of Christianity, *Tianshuo*, that in its turn was refuted (and fully quoted) by Matteo Ricci or Xu Guangqi. *Tianshuo* and its refutation is included in *Bianxue yidu* (*TXCH* 2.651-687); cf. Standaert 1988, pp. 175-182. *Tianshuo* was reprinted in *Poxie ji* (7.1a-4b); for a summary of the text, see Lancashire (1969), pp. 235-237; Yü Chun-fang (cf. note 51), pp. 87-90 (A controversy between Chu-hung and Matteo Ricci).

⁵⁴ Shi Shengyan (1988), pp. 91-92, 109, 112, 125, 133; *Ouyi zonglun* (cf. note 35), pp. 60463 (2b), 60643 (2b), 60680 (5a), 60715 (8a), 60771 (20a); cf. *DMB* 245a. Gude Xian is Gude Daxian, a disciple of Zhuhong (see the last folios of *Yunqi fahui*, *ZHDZJ*, series 2, vol. 129, p. 54942). Daxian was present at Zhuhong's death-bed in 1615. Around 1635 he testified that Zhuhong's last words had never been anything like Christians pretended that they had been, and that his master had written his *Tianshuo* (see preceding note) shortly before the year he died. See appendix to Zhang Guangtian's *Zhengwang houshuo* (*PXJ* 7.35a2-39a4), signed by Yunqi houxue Shi Daxian (*PXJ* 7.39a5-39b4). In his *Zhengwang huoshuo* Zhang addresses Daxian as Gude (*PXJ* 7.35a7). For the question of Zhuhong's last words, see Gernet, p. 112 (1985, p. 81), Standaert 1988, pp. 175-177, and the first article in the present volume (chapter III.1).

THE DATE OF THE COMPOSITION OF *SHENGCHAO ZUOPI*

In order to determine the date of the composition, I will first look at the quotation and mention of *Zuopi* in the aforementioned anti-Christian collections. These show that it was composed before 1635, but probably much earlier. Then I will turn to a 17th century Western source that mentions an anti-Christian book, written in 1623 by a native of Deqing. The information given about this book, with other information found in contemporary Chinese Christian sources, clearly point to Xu Dashou's *Zuopi*. Finally, a closer look at the contents of *Zuopi* itself shows that it must have been composed after 1622, but before late 1627. All this fully justifies the conclusion that *Zuopi* was composed in 1623.

Before its inclusion in *Poxie ji* (1640), *Zuopi* was already included in *Zhuzuo ji* (Collection for eradicating heterodoxy). This collection was compiled by the monk Weiyi Purun (d. 1647) of Hangzhou, but only the preface (*Zhuzuo ji yuanqi*), dated 6 October 1634 and written at the Nanshan monastery in Zhangzhou (Fujian), has been preserved (*PXJ* 8.21a-23a).⁵⁵ That *Zuopi* was included in that collection can be inferred from a quotation from "Master Xu's last essay in the *Collection for eradicating heterodoxy*" (*Zhuzuo ji Xu xiansheng mopian*). This quotation that Xingyuan gave in his *Yuanwen chenxin* (late 1635 or early 1636) was taken from the last essay of *Zuopi*.⁵⁶ That Xu's essays were included in *Zhuzuo ji* is confirmed by the fact that Purun, when in his preface he summarises (in 19 points) the heterodoxy of the Christian teachings, quotes or paraphrases directly from *Zuopi* several times.⁵⁷

⁵⁵ For Purun, see Chen Yuan (1964), p. 390; Yukei 1979, p. 34, no. 338. The Nanshan monastery was just to the south of the prefectural city of Zhangzhou (*Zhangzhou fuzhi* 4.3a).

⁵⁶ *Yuanwen chenxin*, see *Yuandao pixie shuo* (1636) in *Pixie ji* (1861) *juan* 2, ff. 41b9-42a1 = *PXJ* 4.42a6, 42a7/8, 42a8/9, 42b2, 42b3 (ff. 39a-42b, last essay of *Zuopi*). As Xingyuan (f. 42b5-6) quotes *Buren buyan* (preface by Zeng Shi, ca. 21 June 1635) of his fellow-townsmen Huang Zhen (cf. note 9), he must have composed *Yuanwen chenxin* in late 1635 or early 1636. Notice that Zeng in his preface also mentions *Zhuzuo ji* and Purun's preface or colophon (*yuanqi*): Weishang (read: Weiyi) ren zhi yuanqi *Zhuzuo ji* (*PXJ* 7.6b).

⁵⁷ E.g. *PXJ* 8.21a8, cf. 4.2a1-2; 8.21b2-3, cf. 4.18a2-3; 8.21b6, cf. 4.20b8; 8.21b6-7, cf. 4.18a6; 8.23a1 = 4.4b6; 8.23a5 = 4.19b4. Purun's summary (in 19 points) is reproduced by Ōchō 1950, p. 26.

p. The data just presented already show that Xu Dashou wrote his *Zuopi* at least before October 1634. But the text was written much earlier. In the first month of 1637 (26.1-24.2) the monk Chengyong of Hangzhou (not further known to me) wrote in his *Pi Tianzhu jiao xi* (A dispatch to refute the teaching of the Lord of Heaven): "The memorials by the *zongbo* Shen (Shen Que) are still like new; the refutation [*pishu*] by the *zhengjun* Xu (Xu Dashou)⁵⁸ is still there" (PXJ 8.24b8). This statement already suggests that Xu's refutation is more likely to be contemporaneous with Shen Que's memorials of 1616/17 than to have been written recently.⁵⁹

p. iii The *Annual Letter* of 1623 (dated early 1624)⁶⁰ speaks of an anti-Christian book published in that year by a townsman of Deqing. Although it does not mention the name Xu Dashou nor the title *Shengchao zuopi* (in translation or in any form of transcription), it is quite clear that it refers to this book by Xu Dashou:

The zeal and perseverance of the Christians in Tecim (Deqing) became apparent in some adversities and persecutions they endured because of their faith. A certain member of a well-to-do family in this town, the son of a certain magistrate and a relative of the aforementioned Didacus, was very devoted to the idols (pagodes /idola). Because of the death of his mother he had transformed his house into a temple of the idols (varella /templum idolorum), where he keeps many "bonzes" (Buddhist monks), who are all the time reciting [sutras] for the benefit of his deceased parents and relatives. This year, out of devotion to the idols and maybe even instigated by the "bonzes," he showed a strong aversion to the Law of God by composing a book, in which he refuted it as much he could. He especially calumniated baptism as something that is in flat contradiction with [the rule of] the separation [of the sexes] and the modesty of women, who, when they are baptized, let themselves be seen by other men, and by foreign men, whom they allow to wash their face. He not only published his pernicious book, full of other similar calumnies, but to carry into effect his aversion he seized the

⁵⁸ "Gentleman Summoned to Office" (*zhengjun*, used also for someone who did not respond; Hucker 407). Xu Dashou had been appointed Director (*langzhong*) because of the merits of his father (see note 48). *Pishu* refers to his *Zuopi*.

⁵⁹ This statement is quoted by Zhang Weihua 1986, p. 518. For Shen Que, see above (article 1).

⁶⁰ Francisco Furtado wrote the Portuguese version of the *Annual Letter* (henceforth: *LA*) of 1623 (Hangzhou, 10 April 1624) and Joannes Terrentius (Johann Schreck) the Latin version (Hangzhou, 10 May 1624). Neither version has ever been printed. I have consulted photocopies of 18th century copies of them in the Biblioteca da Ajuda in Lisbon: Jesuitas na Asia, 49-V-6, ff. 105r-131v (Portuguese) and 49-V-7, ff. 377r-409v (Latin).

opportunity from the death of a certain magistrate of a neighbouring town, who was said to be killed by certain members of a vile sect called Vuguei Kiao (*Wuwei jiao*, the Teachings of Non-Action). He visited the Chi hien (*zhixian*, county magistrate), who can be compared with our town-judge (*juiz de fora /iudex oppidi*), and presented him with the book he had written, adding to it that he should be wary of the Christians who are riotous people, who will easily venture to kill also him.

(*LA* 1623, f. 405a/b [f. 126a/b])

So the author of the anti-Christian book, written in 1623, was a member of a well-to-do family in Deqing and the son of a certain magistrate. This fits in well with Xu Dashou, son of the high official Xu Fuyuan. Also his devotion to the idols (pagodes /idola) is confirmed by the strong defence of Buddhism in his *Zuopi* (see note 50). The suggestion that Buddhist monks instigated him to write the book fits with the complaint by the monk Gude, which Xu quoted (see above), that no one comes to defence of Buddhism. Without further evidence, however, these indications are not sufficient to identify him positively as the author. More conclusive is the information that the author was a relative of the convert Didacus. This Didacus, also from Deqing, had become a Christian in 1623:

Among those who had given their name to Christ was a certain *literatus*, henceforth called Didacus, of whom one might expect, because of his zeal and learning, that in the future he will be of great help to this Christianity (in Deqing). Having become a Christian this year, he wanted to draw all his family to Christ. So after a few days he took with him to Hamcheu (Hangzhou) his father, an elderly man and also a *sieuçai* (*xiucaï*), and his ten year old son. They were both baptized. His father was called Ignatius and his son Paulus. (*LA* 1623, f. 403b-404a [f. 124b])

A few folios further on the *Annual Letter* speaks again of Ignatius, the father of Didacus:

Ignatius, the grandfather of Paulus, about whom [we spoke] above, because of some business went to a city in the Province of Nanking and passed a great and dangerous river (the Yellow River), on which usually many boats perished due to the strong winds. Now they met with a very strong wind that made the waves rise so high, that they all, even the boatman, were expecting that they would perish. Ignatius took in his hand the *Agnus Dei* he wore around his neck and recommended himself to God. Immediately the river and the wind felt the power of the consecrated wax and the wind and the waves became quiet, so that the pagans who were with him on the boat, were dumbfounded as they did not understand how it had come about. Ignatius took the

opportunity to explain to them the power of God, to which all creatures obey, admonishing them to thank Him and to serve Him.

(LA 1623, f. 406a-b/f. 127b)

By chance, the only story preserved from (what might have been) a collection of miracle stories that took place in Deqing, *Deqing shengji ji*,⁶¹ concerns the same story as the one just quoted from the *Annual Letter* of 1623:

f. 113
Xu Shoujie of Deqing was a nephew (*youzi*) of the *sima* Xu. His second son had already earlier, in the spring of the year *guihai* (1623, 31.1-28.4), entered the religion. The entire family was transformed by it. Shortly afterwards Shoujie went to the church (in Hangzhou) to visit Master Ai (Giulio Aleni). He received his instructions several times and gradually became more enthusiast. So in the eighth month (26.8-23.9) he also asked to be baptized. Master Ai was delighted at his sincerity and gave him an *Agnus Dei* (*shengdu*). When Shoujie happened to go to Pizhou to greet the *cishi* Jin,⁶² he wore it during the journey. When (the boat) crossed the Yellow River, there was a huge storm. The waves billowed and several people [from other boats] "were buried in the maws of fishes" (drowned). Shoujie took the *Agnus Dei* in his hand and silently prayed to the Lord for help. Suddenly the waves became calm and they reached the shore without any injury. The six or seven people who were with him on the boat looked completely pale and at first thought that they simply had had good luck. Later with the boatman they loudly thanked Heaven, but they had no idea how it had come about. Then Shoujie told them of the power of the *Agnus Dei* and they all were even more full of praise about what had happened.

It is now clear that Xu Shoujie was none other than Ignatius, the father of Didacus. Moreover, he was a nephew of the *sima* Xu, which cannot but refer to the father of Xu Dashou, Xu Fuyuan, because (*shao*) *sima* is an unofficial reference to a Vice Minister of

⁶¹ The story is quoted in *Lixiu yijian* (2.15a). For this collection (compiled in 1639/1645), see note 29. At the end of a story (or several successive stories) there is a note giving the source (except the story about Michael Zhang in 2.53b-54a). All these sources (together 18 books) are mentioned in a list at the beginning of the book (*caiyong shumu*), except *Deqing shengji ji*. Therefore, it is not clear whether this title refers to a collection of stories or to a single story.

⁶² This refers to Jin Pi (ca. 1570 - ca. 1654), a native of Deqing and *juren* of 1603. In 1621 he became *zhizhou* (Department Magistrate, unofficial reference: *cishi*; Hucker 7567.4) of Pizhou in Huai'an Prefecture in Nan Zhili (apparently Pizhou* is another name for Pizhou). He was dismissed from the post in 1624 (Tianqi 4) by an adherent of the eunuch Wei Zhongxian. For the next thirty years he lived at home and died at the age of 84. See *Deqing xianzhi*, 7.25a-b (pp. 391-392); *Pizhou zhi* (Huabei difang 34), 11.5b (p. 306); *Huzhou fuzhi*, 12.26b.

War, which office he occupied when he died (see above).⁶³ Xu Shoujie might have been a son of Xu Daoyuan or Xu Shaoyuan, younger brothers of Xu Fuyuan.⁶⁴

The author of the anti-Christian book, published in 1623, was a relative of Didacus. ^{f. 114} Didacus's father was a nephew of Xu Fuyuan, so it is very likely that this relative of Didacus who wrote the anti-Christian book was Xu Fuyuan's son, Xu Dashou. This is confirmed by the information that the author was the son of a magistrate. The qualification "son of a magistrate" as such is rather vague, but Bartoli and Dunyn-Szpot (see note 123) specify that the author was the son of a former governor of Fujian. This only confirms the identification, as in the decennia preceding the year 1623 there has not been any other native of Deqing to occupy that post except Xu Fuyuan.⁶⁵

Having identified the author as Xu Dashou, the question still remains to be answered whether *Zuopi* is the anti-Christian book of which the *Annual Letter* speaks. Xu might have written another anti-Christian book in 1623 and only afterwards his *Zuopi*. According to the *Annual Letter*, the author especially calumniated baptism as being in flat contradiction with the rule of the separation of the sexes and the modesty of women (see above). Although *Zuopi* refutes Christianity on several points ("full of other similar calumnies"), the violation of the rule of the separation of the sexes is indeed a major point for Xu Dashou. He not only mentions it at the beginning of his preface (f. 1a), but also five times within the text itself (f. 18a, 20b, 29b, 31a and 35a).

What do I mean with "refutation" (*pi*)? To refute the heterodox theories of the barbarian Li Madou (Matteo Ricci) who in recent years privately entered [China]. Why do I speak of "to aid" (*zuo*)? As I am without an office and have little virtue, I do not dare to presume to have the responsibility of its refutation. But with my own eyes I saw the disasters of

⁶³ See Hucker 5713 (9). Cf. *Huzhou fuzhi*, 94.16a8: Xu *sima* Fuyuan.

⁶⁴ Xu Daoyuan was a tribute student (*suigong*) of the Wanli period (1573-1619) and Xu Shaoyuan a tribute student by purchase (*ligong*) of the Longqing-Wanli period (1567-1619). A grandson of Xu Daoyuan, Xu Qixuan, became a *juren* in 1646 (possibly he is Didacus, who in 1623 was a *xiuca*). See *Deqing xianzhi* 6.17a, p. 313 (Xu Qixuan); 6.22b, p. 324 (Xu Daoyuan); 6.26b, p. 332 (Xu Shaoyuan). Cf. *Huzhou fuzhi* 13.1b, p. 239 (Xu Qixuan); 14.23b, p. 291 (Xu Daoyuan). According to the funeral inscription composed by Ye Xianggao (cf. note 45), Xu Fuyuan was the eldest son of the *xiuca* Xu Song, who had four other sons (Ye does not give their names), so Xu Shoujie might have been as well a son of one of the other two younger brothers.

⁶⁵ Wu Tingxie (1982), pp. 507-514 (Fujian, period 1573-1625). Cf. *Fujian tongzhi* 96.2a; 8b8.

the White Lotus in the Eastern Provinces and the perils [caused by] youngsters in our Western Wu (Huzhou Prefecture). I realize that the disasters and perils of these heterodox apprentices were really great. However, that people steal from Confucianism to destroy it is unfathomable. As these people increase in number day by day, there seems to be no end to it. Moreover, they now transmit [their teachings] to wives and daughters at night, without respecting the taboo of curtains and screens. They assemble people by scattering strings of cash, so that I fear that they are going to commit [crimes (like killing) which deserve] capital punishment. (Zuopi, f. 1a5-10, preface)

Besides their general rule against lust (the 6th commandment), they have established a prohibition (the 9th commandment) that runs: "Thou shalt not look at thy neighbour's wife." As for the wives and daughters of their followers, however, they let them mingle with the crowd to receive the secret teachings [*mijiao*] of the barbarians. They pour holy water on them, drip holy oil on them, hand them the holy casket (*Agnus Dei*), let them sip the holy salt, light holy candles, share holy bread with them, wave the holy fan, cover themselves with a purple strip (stole) and wear strange vestments, and all this in the dark night and [men and women] intermingling. What more [do I have to tell] ? The *Book of Rites* (chapter 19; Legge, p. 104) says: "If no distinction between males and females were observed, disorder would arise and grow" and I would not know on what their disorder is based? Formerly Chen Zhen was pleased with the younger wife (who was compliant), but he married the (older) one who rebuked other [men]. Although he was a clever strategist, he still kept the curtains and screens.⁶⁶ But today, when one inverts *yin* and *yang* in such a way, should I refrain from speaking or not? (Zuopi, f. 18a4-9)

At sunrise they assemble their followers at that place (the hall of the Lord of Heaven) and preach a laughingstock of superficiality. At night, they extort from them their faults at that place, mingling with wives and daughters, letting down their hair and beating their breasts, and transmit to them the true explanations of secrets. (Zuopi, f. 20b7-9)

(After having explained the way in which the Buddha associated with women who wanted either to hear his preaching or to become a nun, which did not differ from the way Confucius acted, ff. 29a5-29b4, Xu concludes:)

Alas, since the weird followers of teachings like that of Luozi, White Lotus and Wenxiang have appeared, men and women are intermingling completely. And now [the preachers of] the heterodox theory about the Lord of Heaven, although in public they teach people to be chaste, secretly they

⁶⁶ See *Zhanguo ce* (Shanghai, 1978), vol. 1, p. 129; *Chan-Kuo Ts'e*, translated by J. I. Crump Jr. (Oxford, 1970), p. 64.

give in to their own desires and lusts. So in name men and women do not intermingle, but in reality they intermingle as much they can, as I have explained above (f. 18a) when talking about holy water, holy oil and so on. (Zuopi, f. 29b5-8)

As for the intermingling of men and women within this heterodox association they even explicitly praise it by saying: "The Lord of Heaven loves them (women) very much." Some even say that it is very easy for them to be born in Heaven,⁶⁷ but on what do they base such [statements]? (Zuopi, f. 31a6-8)

But in their residences they themselves invite ignorant women at night to come in front of (instead of staying behind) the scarlet curtains (the teacher's seat). They close the doors and mark the women with holy oil, give them holy water and even commit the crime of secretly lusting after them by placing their hands on five places of their bodies. What more can they add to the disorder between men and women? Moreover, in Antiquity there was the Way of the Sovereign, because one respected the Way of the Teacher. Therefore it is said: "If the teacher is strict, the Way is honoured." Similarly the Buddha called himself Great Teacher of the Three Worlds only after having paid his respects to the stupas of the former Buddhas. But these barbarians not only set themselves up as teachers in order to facilitate their illicit [desires], but they also do it to further their private interests. (Zuopi, f. 35a7-35b2)⁶⁸

Another detail from the information that the *Annual Letter* of 1623 (composed in April 1624) supplied about the author of the anti-Christian book is confirmed by the contents of the preface to *Zuopi*. The author presented his book to the county magistrate of Deqing to warn him that Christians might kill him, as the magistrate of a neighbouring town had been killed by members of a vile sect, called Wuwei. Now, the "magistrate of a neighbouring town" refers to Shi Yuheng (a *jinshi* of 1619), since 1622 magistrate of Changxing county in Huzhou Prefecture (the native county of Xu Dashou's wife). He was killed with the assistant magistrate Xu Kexing on 28 January 1624 (the first day of a new 60-year period).⁶⁹ In historical sources the people who killed them are not designated as members

⁶⁷ Apparently an apologetic argument of the missionaries against Buddhism: women do not have to be reincarnated as men, before they have the possibility to enter Nirvana.

⁶⁸ Of these six quotations from *Zuopi* (1a5-10, 18a4-9, 20b7-9, 29b5-8, 31a6-8, 35a7-35b2) three were translated by Gernet, 18a4-8: p. 257 (1985, p. 189); 20b7-9: 158 (117); 35a7-9: 259-260 (191).

⁶⁹ For the material regarding this incident, see Hamashima (1982), pp. 599-606. Shi's biography is found in *Huzhou fuzhi*, 63.34a-b (vol. 4, p. 1219).

of the Wuwei society but as adherents of the heterodox teacher Ye Langsheng, who started an unsuccessful rebellion in Huzhou Prefecture in November or December 1622. To this rebellion Xu Dashou without any doubt is referring in his preface, when after having mentioned the White Lotus rebellion in Shandong (June - November 1622) he speaks of "the perils [caused by] youngsters in our Western Wu" (see above).⁷⁰ In his preface Xu already expressed his fear that the violation of the rules of separation will only result in greater crimes (like killing) that deserves capital punishments (see the end of the above quoted part). Therefore, it comes as no surprise that he presented his recently written book to the magistrate of Deqing shortly after the magistrates of Changxing had been killed by remnants of the adherents of Ye Langsheng.

There can be hardly any doubt that the anti-Christian book of which the *Annual Letter* of 1623 speaks is Xu Dashou's *Zuopi*. Nevertheless, I will take a closer look to *Zuopi* in order to see which indications the text itself gives for the date of its composition.

Zuopi must have been written anyway after the Wanli period (1573-1620), as Xu refers to the Wanli emperor by his temple name Shenhuang (conferred on 13 September 1620),⁷¹ and after early 1621, as Xu refers to his late father by his posthumous name

⁷⁰ Western Wu is another name for Huzhou Prefecture (cf. *DMB* 1.547). For the rebellion of Ye Langsheng, see Hamashima 1982, pp. 592-598. As for *chizi* (red children), this might mean "common people," but also "children, youngsters." Notice that two of the ten documents about this rebellion, which Hamashima reproduced (p. 595, no. 4 and p. 596, no. 8), speak of *e shao* (evil youths), whom Ye had gathered.

The rebellion is dated the winter of Tianqi 2 (3.11.1622-30.1.1623), but the exact time is not known. Hamashima (p. 598) takes as *terminus ante quem* 31 December 1622, the day that Xu Bida (see note 96), who took part in the suppression of this rebellion, is appointed to another office (*XZSL* 127.1431: Tianqi 2, 29.XI). A source not consulted by Hamashima is the biography of Su Maoxiang, then governor of Zhejiang, in *Quanzhou fuzhi* 44.45a-52a (slightly shorter version in *Fujian tongzhi* 204.38a-40b), esp. f. 48a-b. According to this biography, the rebellion started at the very last days of Su's term as governor, when he had already received his appointment to another office (1622, 12.X = 14 November 1622; *XZSL* 127.1362, *GQ* 85.5211); Su's successor was appointed on 11 December 1622 (Wu Tingxie 1982, p. 448). The information about Ye Langsheng's rebellion, found in Su's biography, might have been taken from *Chuyao gong'an*, a report on the suppression of this rebellion written by Su himself (*Fujian tongzhi* 72.33b). For Su Maoxiang (born 23 October 1571, see *jinshi* list of 1592 [note 1, article 1], p. 11572), an acquaintance of Yang Tingyun and Giulio Aleni, see Standaert 1988, pp. 26, 45 and 59.

⁷¹ *PXJ* 4.4a5, 20b4; for the date of the conferral of the temple name (Shenzong), see *GQ* 84.5168. Xu mentions that recently (*jinnian*, i.e., 1614) Shenhuang had again (*xin*) conferred the title

Gongjian (conferred on 25 January 1621).⁷² Then Xu mentions a recent fire in Hangzhou:

In the past years [*wangsui*] there was a great fire [*huozai*] in Wulin (Hangzhou). Accidentally [the house of] an adherent of these heretical teachings was spared by the flames. Immediately one foolhardily said to people: "This was due to the fire averting power of the jewel of the barbarians (*Agnus Dei*).⁷³ Now, to pray only for [a family of] eight persons⁷³ to be spared by the flames and not for the ten thousand "furnaces," can that be called "loving others"? (*PXJ* 4.31b1-3)⁷⁴

There were two great fires in Hangzhou in 1621. The first raged on 23 April (3rd month, *jiachen*), when the houses of more than six thousand families were consumed by the flames. During the second fire, on 15 August, more than ten thousand families lost their homes.⁷⁵

di (sovereign) to Guangong (f. 20b4), cf. Gernet, p. 246 (1985, p. 181). The first time (1594, Wanli 22, 1st month) Guangong was conferred the title of Guandi and the second time (1614, Wanli 42, 19.X) that of Guansheng dijun, see *Ciyuan*, vol. 4 (Peking, 1983), p. 3254.2; Zong Li & Liu Qun, *Zhongguo minjian zhushen* (The folk deities of China; Hebei renmin chubanshe; Shijia zhuang, 1987), p. 567, 571, 572; *GQ* 86.5291 (1614).

⁷² *PXJ* 4.3b5 (quoting a memorial by his father presented at the time he was Governor of Fujian); *GQ* 84.5184 (Tianqi 1, I, *bingzi*).

⁷³ "Eight persons" refers to one family, cf. Mencius 7.A, 22.2 (Legge, p. 461).

⁷⁴ Cf. Gernet, p. 137 (1985, p. 100). *LA* 1620, p. 131, gives another example of a fire extinguished by throwing an *Agnus Dei* in it (next to the house of Yang Tingyun in Hangzhou). Comparison with this and another similar story (see below, *LA* 1621 and *Lixiu yijian*) shows that "the jewel of the barbarians" (*yibao*) refers to the *Agnus Dei* that was believed to give protection against, among other things, fire (see *LThK* 1.204). The *Agnus Dei* was worn on the body or around the neck, see the story about Ignatius Xu Shoujie (translated above) and *LA* 1621: "prist l'*Agnus Dei* qu'elle portoit & le ietta dedans le feu" (p. 79). It might have been worn as a kind of jewel too, which would explain the use of the word *bao* (jewel). "In Köln trugen vom 15. bis 18. Jh. Mädchen u. Frauen, selbst Männer ein silbernes od. goldenes A. D. an einem Kettchen am Hals, eine Art Schutzmittel u. zugleich Schmuckstück" (*LThK* 1.c.). The *Agnus Dei* that the missionaries gave to converts seem all to have been made of wax. Anyway the *Agnus Dei* worn by Xu Shoujie was made of wax (*LA* 1623: "the power of the consecrated wax," see above), as was the one that was thrown into a fire in 1621 and later on found unmelted: "elles virent que c'estoit cet *Agnus Dei*, plus beau mesme qu'auparavant; parce que ce peu de tache qu'avoit causé la sueur en le portant s'estoit effacé: & de cet événement l'on ne peut dire combien ces bonnes ames ont esté confirmées en la devotion qu'elles portoient à l'*Agnus Dei*" (*LA* 1621, p. 80). This story suggests that the *Agnus Dei* was worn directly on the body, but the Chinese term for it, *shengdu* (holy casket, case), indicates that the *Agnus Dei*, like in Europe, was placed inside a medallion or locket; cf. *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, vol. I/1 (Paris, 1930), col. 612.

⁷⁵ For the first fire, see *MS* 22.299, 29.468. According to *XZSL* 8.2b (124.370) more than 6,100 houses were consumed by the fire and 35 people died. For the second fire, see *MS* 29.468; according to *XZSL* 13.20a (125.675) more than 10,000 houses were consumed by the fire. There is confusion regarding the date of the second fire. *Mingshi* speaks of the *wuzi* day of the 7th month, but as there

p. 119 The *Annual Letter* of 1621 relates that the house of Li Zhizao (d. 1630) was spared three times that year (when Li himself was in Peking): the first time during the city fire, then during a fire in a neighbouring house and finally during a fire inside the house itself. The second fire was extinguished by making a vow and the third by throwing an *Agnus Dei* in the fire (pp. 77-80). The same three fires are the subject of a story in the section *shengdu* (Agnus Dei) of *Lixiu yijian* (2.14a3-15a1): the first time the house was spared through prayer (not mentioned in the *Annual Letter*) during the city fire (*huozai*) of the third month; the second fire (inside the house) occurred in the 4th month and was extinguished by throwing an *Agnus Dei* in the fire, and the third fire (during the second city fire) was extinguished also through prayer. The stories about these three fires as found in *Lixiu yijian* do not completely agree with those in the *Annual Letter* of 1621 (which speaks of a single city fire, in two phases, with a few days between each). There is a discrepancy as regards which fire was extinguished by an *Agnus Dei*—according to *Lixiu yijian* the second fire (inside the house during the 4th month), but according to the *Annual Letter* the third fire (inside the house at an unspecified date), which fire according to *Lixiu yijian* was the city fire of the 6th month. As these two "Christian" sources do not agree, there is no compelling reason why the story as given by Xu Dashou should not refer to the second city fire of 1621. By using the expression *huozai* (that does not fit the description of a fire inside a house) and mentioning the number of ten thousand "furnaces" (that were not spared by the flames) Xu Dashou must be referring to the second city fire of 1621, when according to *Mingshi* (that uses the

was no *wuzi* day in that month, 'seven' was corrected into 'eight' (4 October), as found also in *Ming shilu* (see MS 29.468 and note 5 on p. 479). According to *Zhejiang tongzhi*, the fire occurred on the 23rd day (*renxu*) of the 7th month (8 September), see Standaert 1988, p. 77, n. 19. According to a letter of Johann Schreck (Hangzhou, 30 August 1621), the second fire occurred on the feast of the Ascension of Mary (15 August, which is the *wuxu* day of the 6th month): "Festo Assumptionis B. V. arsit haec civitas 20 circiter horis, et ante paucos menses hoc eodem anno arserunt 7000 domus, et hac secunda vice dicuntur plures combustae," see G. Gabrieli, "Giovanni Schreck Linceo, gesuita e missionario in Cina e le sue lettere dall'Asia," in: *Rendiconti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei. Classe di Scienze Morali, Storiche e filologiche*, serie VI, vol. XII (1936), nos. 5-6, p. 500; cf. H. Walravens, *China illustrata. Das europäische China Verständnis im Spiegel des 16. bis 18. Jahrhunderts*, Weinheim, 1987, p. 29. Also according to *Lixiu yijian* (cf. note 29), the fire that consumed several thousand houses occurred in the sixth month (19.7-16.8) and was more ferocious than that in the 3rd month, when 10,000 houses were consumed (*juan* 2, f. 14b, based on the lost *Dekai* of ca. 1635). So *wuzi*, 7th (8th) month (4 October; *Mingshi*) and *renxu*, 7th month (8 September; *Zhejiang tongzhi*) must be corruptions of *wuxu*, 6th month (15 August). It is hard to see how the eye-witness Johann Schreck, who wrote about the fire only two weeks afterwards, can have been mistaken in the date.

expression *huozai* too) ten thousand houses were consumed by the flames. So the story as told by Xu Dashou not only gives a further *terminus post quem* for his book (after 15 August 1621), but also shows that it cannot have been written a long time afterwards, as he speaks of a recent event (*wangsui*).

The most recent years that Xu mentions are *xinyou* and *renxu*. In the year *xinyou* (1621) the water of the Yellow River became limpid and in the year *renxu* (1622) a phoenix was seen, / auspicious omens that the missionaries interpreted as referring to them (PXJ 4.40a7). The first omen occurred in the 8th month of 1620; one source speaks of Tianqi 1 (1621) without specification of the month.⁷⁶ The second omen occurred in November 1622 and was reported to the Throne in February 1623.⁷⁷ According to Xu, these omens only confirm that the present emperor (*jin shang*) "truly is someone who is guided by Heaven" (*zhen Tian suo qi*). They belong to the category *jun* (sovereign) and not to the category *shi* (teacher). Even during the life of Confucius such omens never appeared. They simply appear at the beginning of a new reign (*long fei*). The interpretation that the missionaries give of these omens is another example of the usurpatory nature of their teaching (PXJ 4.40a-40b).⁷⁸ Evidently "the present emperor" refers to the Tianqi (1621-1627) emperor (*jin shang*

⁷⁶ LCCXL 2.51b-52a (vol. 1, pp. 254-255): memorial, dated 1620 21.VIII (17 September, a few days before 1 October, when the Tianqi emperor ascended the Throne) and presented by Li Qiyuan, Governor of Shensi, who reported that the Yellow river had become limpid for three days (11-13 September) near Lanzhou. Cf. XZSL 1.28b (124.56): Taichang 1, VIII, *guisi* (14 October 1620) and MJB 2.36: 1620, 8th month, shortly after the death of the Taichang emperor (26 September). Xu Dashou incorrectly speaks of *xinyou* (1621), but he was not the only one to do so. Huang Zunsu (1584-1626) in his *Shuolüe* also gives: Tianqi 1, *xinyou* (Hanfen lou miji, vol. 8, f. 28a).

⁷⁷ The big bird (according to some sources a phoenix, *fenghuang*) was seen in Zhongzhou (Kaifeng, Henan) on the Dawei mountain in Yuzhou (county in Kaifeng Prefecture) from 11 until 14 November 1622 (Tianqi 2, XI, 9-12). It was reported to the Throne by the Governor of Henan, Feng Jiahui, on 20 February 1623 (XZSL 30.19a, 127.1531: Tianqi 3, I, *renzi*; cf. GQ 85.5214: *jiayin*, 22 February). See also MJB 2.49 (Tianqi 2, XI, 9-11); LCCXL 17.14a-16b (4.1915-1920): memorial with prose-poem by the Hanlin Academician Song Qiming, dated the second month of Tianqi 3 (1-30 March 1623) and presented to the Throne on 20 April 1623 (GQ 85.5216).

⁷⁸ The *Annual Letters* of 1621 and 1622 do not refer to these omens. LA 1621, however, gives the following "ominous" explanation of the reign-title of the Tianqi emperor: "Dieu veuille que comme il a pris pour nom Thien Ki, qui signifie Ciel ouvert; de mesme les effects y correspondent, & que du temps de son regne la splendeur de la lumiere Chrestienne se face veoir à Ciel ouvert sur ce Royaume: & que les mesmes Cieux qui luy ont esté de bronze si long temps, distillent sur luy le lait & le miel de la grace divine" (p. 192). In 1625 (*Tu Jingjiao bei hou*) Li Zhizao took the discovery of the Xi'an stele as an auspicious omen for the Tianqi emperor (TXCH 1.88), as did Xu Guangqi in his *Jingjiao tang beiji* (XGQJ 2.531). Both also refer, in this connection, to the above mentioned

.. *Tian .. qi*), so Xu wrote his book before late 1627 (the Tianqi emperor died on 30 September 1627). As the omen of November 1622 was reported to the Throne in late February 1623, Xu Dashou cannot have written his book before March 1623.

The most recent book that Xu mentions (f. 34a4; Gernet, p. 254) is Giulio Aleni's *Xixue fan* (Hangzhou, 1623). This survey of studies in the West was written to promote a translation project of Western books. In 1619 some 7,000 Western books (volumes), brought by Nicolas Trigault from Europe, had arrived in Macao. Xu Dashou also mentions these books:

They also say to people: "The Buddha was simply a virtuous person who cultivated himself. His theories were embellished by Chinese people who made the twelve divisions (*bu*) of the Tripitaka." How can King Yama (or Lucifer, with whom missionaries equated the Buddha)⁷⁹ be a virtuous person who cultivated himself? Those barbarians, however, pretend even more, as they say that the Heavenly Books of the Western Countries consist of 7,000 divisions, of which the indices alone consist of so many volumes that they would fill a house to the roof, and that these only have not yet arrived here.

(PXJ 4.28a)

Yang Tingyun in his preface to *Xixue fan* (dated 28 June 1623) also speaks of books (not indices) that would fill a house to the roof.⁸⁰ Anyway these books were still in Macao in early 1624,⁸¹ so Xu could, indeed, say that they had not yet arrived in China (see also

omens of 1621 and 1622, apparently taking the "unearthing" (*chudi*) of the Xi'an stele as another auspicious omen. So Xu Dashou's statement that the missionaries took these two omens as referring to Christianity might be correct.

⁷⁹ See PXJ 4.13a; Gernet, p. 315 (1985, p. 233).

⁸⁰ As Xu takes *bu* in the meaning of division, the 12 divisions of the Buddhist Canon could hardly compare with the 7,000 "divisions" of Western books. The Buddhist Canon consisted of 5048 *juan* (PXJ 8.40b) or 5048 *bu* (PXJ 7.17a)—5048 is in fact the number of *juan* in the Kaibao Canon of the Northern Song. Xu might have misunderstood the missionaries' statements on the number of Western books, but he did understand that they were boasting on the number of their books compared with that in the Buddhist Canon.

⁸¹ For Yang Tingyun's preface to *Xixue fan*, see *Tianxue chuhan*, vol. 1, p. 11 and Xu Zongze (1949), p. 292. The 7,000 volumes (chapters?, cf. note 80) of Western books were still in Macao in early 1624, see LA 1623 (composed in April 1624), f. 396b (Latin) and f. 116a (Portuguese). It is not clear when they were transported from Macao to China itself. Wang Zheng in his preface (first month, 1627; 16.2-16.3) to his *Yuanxi qiqi tushuo* (Illustrated explanations of the wonderful instruments from the Far West), written with Johann Schreck, says that his book is a translation of a part of the 7,000 odd volumes that were brought to China from the Far West (Xu Zongze 1949, p. 296). The Western books on which *Qiqi tushuo* was based are all found in the Beitang library, see

PXJ 4.42b). As he seems to be referring to Yang Tingyun's preface, Xu must have composed his *Zuopi* in the second half of 1623. While Xu mentions *Xixue fan*, it is striking that he does not mention or quote Aleni's *Zhifang waiji* (preface by Aleni, dated 10 September 1623), as he opens his *Zuopi* by trying to prove that the existence of the Great West is an invention of the missionaries.

The date of the second half of 1623 is confirmed by the fact that the edicts against Christianity were still valid then. Xu writes that the Wanli emperor had at first allowed Ricci to stay, but later (in 1617) chased his companions away (PXJ 4.38b). Xu is angry at the Chinese who help the missionaries to stay in China (f. 42a). It is not clear when these edicts lost their validity. According to George Dunne, the fact that early in 1623, Manuel Dias Jr and Niccolò Longobardo were invited to come to Peking to be consulted as potential military experts, shows that the edict had been revoked.⁸² In the autumn of 1623 Aleni felt free to open a mission in Changshu (Suzhou Prefecture), where he arrived shortly after 2 October, when Qu Ruyue died. When he returned to Hangzhou in the autumn of the following year and met Ye Xianggao, the latter pointed out, however, that he could not become a Christian, because Christianity "fut bannie peu d'années en ça par le Roy Van Liè (Wanli)."

H. Verhaeren, "Wang Tcheng et la mécanique," in: *Bulletin Catholique de Pékin* 34 (1947), pp. 178-189. According to Fang Hao (1969, 1.41-42) most volumes were probably still in Macao in 1630.

⁸² Dunne (1962), p. 187. Xu Dashou might also be referring to this event. At the end of the 7th essay (cf. note 50) he remarks that one calls Christianity a teaching (*jiao*), but that Buddhism really is a teaching. He concludes: "Has it ever, like these heterodox apprentices do, disgraced the Emperor and insulted the Chief Ministers by talking about soldiers and weapons" (PXJ 4.33a2-4; for the following and last sentence of this essay, see Gernet, p. 65/66; 1985, p. 45/46). This remark might refer, however, to the efforts that since 1620 missionaries and converts undertook to use Western cannon against the Manchus (cf. PXJ 4.30b1; Gernet, p. 255; 1985, p. 188), see e.g. Xu Guangqi's memorials concerning this subject (XGQJ, pp. 175, 179 [memorial by Li Zhizao], 188, 204); cf. Dunne, pp. 157-158; Zhang Weihua 1982, pp. 164-169. The first successful use of Western cannon only dates of February 1626 (Dunne, p. 185; ECCP, p. 954b; GQ 87.5320). Before that time, a few months after May 1622 (cf. C.R. Boxer, *Fidalgos in the Far East*, The Hague 1948, p. 75), some cannon that had reached Peking exploded during a test and caused the death of 21 people (LA 1622, p. 153). This explosion seems to have been the motive for Shen Que to renew his persecution of Christians (Dunne, p. 158; DMB, p. 414b; ECCP, p. 453). Another such explosion took place on 17 September 1623, killing two Chinese and one Portuguese (LA 1623, f. 385a [Latin], absent in the Portuguese version, cf. note 60); see also XZSL 37.18b, 128.1926 (Tianqi 3, VIII, *jiashen*: 20 September 1623), speaking of two casualties, one Chinese and one barbarian; cf. C.R. Boxer, "Portuguese Military Expeditions in Aid of the Mings Against the Manchus, 1621-1647," in: *T'ien Hsia Monthly* 7.1 (August 1938; pp. 24-36), pp. 25-26. Xu Dashou refers anyway to the first explosion (summer 1622) and possibly to both explosions (PXJ 4.19b2 [defective column, cf. note 8], 36b3).

Nevertheless, Ye invited Aleni to come to Fujian in the spring of next year (1625). In that same year, however, the missionaries still stayed outside Hangzhou "en consideration des Edicts royaux."⁸³

The absence of any mention of some other subjects does not prove that *Zuopi* was composed in the second half of 1623, but shows that it cannot have been written much later. For example, in the spring of 1625 missionaries and converts in Hangzhou for the first time heard of the discovery (1623) of the Nestorian stele (781) and immediately the text of the inscription was printed with a preface by Li Zhizao, dated June 1625.⁸⁴ The absence of any reference to it in *Zuopi* is striking, because Xu regarded not only the Great West as an invention of the missionaries (see above), but also Christianity itself, as it had never been recognised by Chinese emperors.⁸⁵

Although written in the second half of 1623, the book reflects the situation in mainly the preceding years and especially in Hangzhou and Deqing, as was already evident from the mention of the omens of 1621 and 1622 and the recent fire in Hangzhou (August 1621). It is confirmed by the fact that he reports the opinions of Aleni and Longobardo (Ai Long),⁸⁶ who both were living in Hangzhou during these years. Longobardo stayed in Hangzhou and surroundings from 1617 until 5 December 1622, when he with Adam Schall left for Peking, where they arrived on 25 January 1623. From the end of September, until mid-November

⁸³ See LA 1624, p. 40, and LA 1625 (1 March 1626), p. 162. That Christianity was still proscribed late in 1624 might be concluded from a letter of Aleni (Hangzhou, 3 February 1625), in which he tells of his conversation with Ye Xianggao in December 1624. In connection with the term Tianzhu used to designate God, Ye remarks: "quod vobis nocet, movetque suspicionem cuiusdam malae sectae, et novae, eo quod not sit idem nomen, quo nos nominamus. Quare ergo non utimini nominibus, quibus utimur, nempe Tien, et Xam Ti, ad significandum verum Deum, sic vitaturi suspicionem pravae novitatis, addita, si opus est, aliqua explicatione vestro modo, ut rem significatum certius exprimat" (*Brevis Relatio*, 1701, f. 34v-35r [copy at Nederlands Scheepvaart Museum, Amsterdam]).

⁸⁴ Cf. Havret (1897) and Verhaeren (1945). For Li Zhizao, see ECCP, pp. 452-454.

⁸⁵ PXJ 4.21a5-6; Gernet, p. 148 (1985, p. 108).

⁸⁶ PXJ 4.15a (Gernet, p. 241). See also f. 9a, where both (with Ricci) are mentioned, and f. 42a, where Xu insists on their expulsion (this statement is quoted by Xingyuan in his *Yuanwen chenxin*, see above, note 56). Notice that the *Annual Letter* of 1621 (pp. 106-113) gives much attention to the opposition the missionaries met with in Deqing (cf. LA 1622, pp. 220-221: "Nous escrivismes l'an passé le trouble qui s'esleva en un village voisin: ceste année Satan en a esmeu un autre ...").

1622, he had been hiding on a mountain in the neighbourhood of Shanghai. Since the outbreak of the White Lotus rebellion in Shandong in June of that year a search had been going on for adherents of White Lotus and similar teachings, and Christians had become suspected too (*Annual Letter* 1622). Therefore, Xu can only have met Longobardo before late September 1622. As the other missionaries also had to hide in the neighbourhood of Hangzhou since September 1622, his discussions with Aleni⁸⁷ probably date back to the period from May 1621, when Aleni arrived in Hangzhou,⁸⁸ until September 1622 (or even October 1623, when Aleni left for Changshu). The mission in Deqing, sometimes called Saint Ursula in the *Annual Letters*, was only opened on 21 October 1621 (feast of Saint Ursula), but Xu might well have met Aleni and Longobardo in Hangzhou before that date.⁸⁹

⁸⁷ Xu gives a quite long report of a discussion he had with Aleni (PXJ 4.11a3-14a1, interrupted by Xu's commentary in 11b10-13a3). Gernet translated about two thirds of it: pp. 321, 319/320, 320, 318/319 and 315 (1985, pp. 233-238).

⁸⁸ He had certainly been staying there since 5 August 1621, when Michael Zhang (Zhang Shi) had his vision. Probably he already stayed there in the spring of 1621 (22.1-20.5), see biography of Michael Zhang (Courant 1016) and Verhaeren (1945). Towards the end of February 1620 he was in Yangzhou, where in March 1620 he baptized Ma Chengxiu (*jinshi* of 1604), with whom he went to Shenxi. Ma served there as Surveillance Vice Commissioner (he was appointed on 26 April 1618; SZSL 568.1b, 122.10680). Shortly after Ma had received the news that he was appointed to a higher office in Fujian (9 November 1620; XSZL 2.8b, 124.0088) Aleni went to Shanxi, and in April 1621 he met Ma in Henan and together they went to Yangzhou, where they parted and from whence Aleni returned to Hangzhou (LA 1621, p. 334; DMB 1.3-4).

⁸⁹ Xu certainly did meet missionaries and converts in Hangzhou, 30 li south of Deqing (see *Deqing xianzhi*) or one day by boat (LA 1621, p. 97): "when I returned by boat, I said to myself ..." (PXJ 4, f. 36b, disapproving comment on spectacles that the missionaries had given to a convert, who had shown them to Xu).

THE MOTIVATION FOR WRITING *SHENGCHAO ZUOPI*

p. 125 In his preface to *Zuopi*, Xu made it quite clear why he wrote this book: to point out that the Christian teachings are at least as dangerous as those of the adherents of the White Lotus teachings or the followers of Ye Langsheng, who revolted in 1622. In the text of *Zuopi* itself he mentions the White Lotus four times in the following connections: the missionaries attract people to become converts by way of money; converts have a mark of identification on the lintel of their doors;⁹⁰ the missionaries keep lists of their converts (baptismal registers); and they allow them to attend congregations without separation of the sexes. Xu concludes that all these things are also done by the White Lotus adherents.⁹¹ In addition, the missionaries are trying to introduce their own calendar; they interpret dynastic omens as referring to them; and they plot rebellion,⁹² as they have private contacts with the Philippines and Japan, are fortifying the city of Macao⁹³ and spying on the country. Their plans for rebellion are even more dangerous than that of the White Lotus adherents, as they bluntly declare that it is not worthwhile following Confucius, fearing the spirits and honouring one's parents and that only their heterodox teachings are the most honoured of all.⁹⁴

⁹⁰ The mark of identification looked like a (fresh-water) turtle, *pie* (18b9). As converts in Deqing had marked the name of Jesus above the doors of their houses (*LA* 1621, p. 113; *LA* 1623, f. 127a or 406a), one wonders if this refers to the Christ monogram in the form of a fish (ΙΧΘΥΣ : Jesus Christ, God's Son, Redeemer). Notice that Yan Wenhui in his memorial of October 1616 remarked that Christians "on the doors of their homes paste a paper-cut character as sign of recognition" (*PXJ* 1.22b; see above, article 1, after note 216).

⁹¹ *PXJ* 4.18b9-10 (Gernet, p. 158), f. 19a2 and 29b5 (see above).

⁹² This is the theme of the last essay (*PXJ* 4.39a4-42b7, only once quoted by Gernet, see below, note 94): "Refutation of using a private calendar, stealing omens, plotting rebellion and committing the greatest sedition ever heard of since antiquity." The reform of the calendar started in 1629, but in the period 1611-1615 such a reform had already been proposed (see above, first article, chapter III.3). Xu Dashou especially criticized the proposed abolition of the intercalary month (Gernet, p. 86).

⁹³ This probably refers to the wall built in 1622, which in 1625 (4th month) the Chinese authorities ordered to be demolished. See Zhang Weihua 1982, pp. 54, 198; cf. above (article 1, note 119).

⁹⁴ *PXJ* 4.41a7. Cf. 4.40b/41a; Gernet, p. 179/80 (1985, p. 132/133).

Having just experienced the unrest caused by the White Lotus rebellion in Shandong, and the rebellion of Ye Langsheng in his home Prefecture, Huzhou, Xu is trying to help the government to discover other rebellious and heterodox groups—as he told in his preface, when explaining the title of his book (see above), and at the end of his book (*PXJ* 4.41b8-42b7). Although the rebellion of Ye Langsheng had been suppressed and Ye himself executed (probably in December 1622), several of his adherents hid themselves in the mountains west of Changxing county and were still active, as shown by the fact that they murdered the magistrates of Changxing on January 1624 (shortly afterwards Xu presented his *Zuopi* to magistrate of Deqing, see above). This was the reason that gentry and people of Huzhou by way of Su Maoxiang, the governor of Zhejiang, requested the Court that Du Qiaolin, the Prefect of Huzhou (since 1619), who had been meritorious in the suppression of the rebellion and was appointed to Surveillance Vice Commissioner (*ancha fushi*) of Zhejiang, should remain in office as Prefect of Huzhou for the time being. The request was granted on 30 April 1623 and his actual appointment to Vice Commissioner followed on 16 September 1623.⁹⁵ It was during this period of the aftermath of Ye Langsheng's rebellion and the search for other adherents of his that Xu Dashou composed his *Zuopi*.

Xu was not the first who after the rebellions of 1622 pointed to Christianity as another dangerous doctrine. Already in 1622 Christians in Nanking had been arrested as followers of the White Lotus teachings. This had prompted the prominent convert Xu Guangqi to write a defence of Christianity and send it to the censor in Nanking in charge of the troops along the Great Canal, Xu Bida (1562-1631)—who also took part in the suppression of Ye Langsheng's rebellion.⁹⁶ The latter, however, answered Xu Guangqi, that he remained

⁹⁵ *XZSL* 33.1b, 128.1678 (Tianqi 3, 2.IV); 37.15b, 128.1921 (Tianqi 3, 22.VIII). For Du Qiaolin, a native of Huating and *jinshi* of 1616, see his biography in *Huzhou fuzhi* 62.46a-b (p. 1197); cf. Hamashima, p. 596 (no. 8). This biography reproduces parts of the inscription composed by Luo Congyu (a native of Wukang and *jinshi* of 1604; *MRZ* 865) on the occasion of Du's departure as Prefect, engraved on a stele erected in front of the yamen of Huzhou Prefecture in the 5th month of 1624 (*Huzhou fuzhi* 47.53b, p. 885). Luo Congyu also wrote a congratulatory essay for Du's appointment to Surveillance Commissioner concurrently remaining in charge of the affairs of Huzhou Prefecture, a text reproduced in his collected works, *Luo taishi Danran zhai cungao* (microfilm, National Central Library, Taipei), 2.7a-9b (*Jia junhou Du gong zhao xianfu reng li junshi xu*). According to this essay, it was Governor Su Maoxiang (cf. note 70) who transmitted the request of gentry and people of Huzhou to the Court.

⁹⁶ Hamashima, pp. 593-594 (see note 70). Xu's successor as censor was Xiong Mingyu (cf. article 1, note 276), who was appointed on 7 January 1623 (*XZSL* 127.1445, *GQ* 85.5213). Xu Bida (*MRZ* 457, summarizing *MS* 292.7501) died on 18 June 1631 (*GQ* 91.5564). For his biography and funeral

convinced that Christianity was just another heterodox group.⁹⁷

Xu Dashou seems to have had also personal motives designating Christianity as another heterodox group. He was quite emotionally engaged in his subject. He had been deeply indignant when he saw how adherents of this religion—which so much advocated "loving others"—were excited about the fact that during the city fire in Hangzhou in 1621 (when 10,000 houses were consumed by the flames), the house of a convert (and high official, Li Zhizao) was spared by the flames thanks to an *Agnus Dei* (see above), but had

inscription, see *Jiaxing xianzhi* (ca. 1638), 13.59b-60b and 4.60a-64a, in: *Riben cang Zhongguo jian-jian difangzhi congkan* (Shumu wenxian, 1991), vol. 4, pp. 536-537 and 161-163. According to the *jinshi* list of 1592 (cf. article 1, note 1), Xu Bida was born on 14 July 1566 (p. 11558: *bingyin* 28.VI). *Jiaxing xianzhi*, however, says that he died at the age of 70 *sui* in 1631 (Chongzhen 4). Then he was born in 1562 (*renxu*). Also the biography (f. 45, 2b/3a, see below) of his father Xu Xuezhou (1529-1613, *MRZ* 471) mentions 1562 as the year (*renxu*) Xu Bida was born. It continues to tell that Xu Xuezhou became a *juren* in 1564. As Xu Bida himself supplied the compiler the data for this biography, I assume that the year 1562 is more reliable than 1566. The compiler of this biography was Xu Congzhi (see article 1, note 25). The text is included in *juan* 100 of Jiao Hong's *Guochao xianzheng lu* (1616, prefaces by Huang Ruheng [article 1, note 29] and Gu Qiyuan [article 1, note 298]). Possibly it was inserted later, as the five folios covering the biography are numbered folio 45, 2-6 (NLP microfilm 276). These folios are absent in the copy reproduced in 1965 (see bibliography, sub GCXZL; vol. 7, p. 4479). Xu Congzhi called himself a nephew (*zhi*) of Xu Xuezhou and referred to Xu Bida as his cousin (*zongxiong*). The younger brother of Xu Congzhi, Xu Changzhi (the compiler of *Poxie ji*) even called Xu Bida his elder brother (see ter Haar 1992, p. 241, note 121). Without going into details for the moment, Xu Congzhi and Xu Changzhi do not seem to have been full cousins of Xu Bida, but anyway relatives.

⁹⁷ See ter Haar 1992, pp. 234-237; Dunne, pp. 158-160. Notice that the French translation (Paris, 1627) of the *Annual Letter* of 1622, originally written in Portuguese (not consulted), speaks of the White Lotus teachings (p. 185: "le Docteur Paul en ses lettres cottoit quatorze chefs principaux, par lesquels il monstroie que la loi du Seigneur du Ciel estoit bien differente du Pelien"), while the Latin translation (cf. note 125) speaks of the Wuwei teachings (p. 157: "... quatuordecim capita percensebat, quibus Christiana disciplina à *Unguei kiao* dissideat"). When the *Annual Letter* of 1623 calls the remnants of the group around Ye Langsheng, who in early 1624 killed the magistrates of Jiaxing, adherents of the Wuwei teachings (Vuguei Kiao, see above, after note 60), one wonders whether one has to take this literally or that Wuwei is used interchangeably with White Lotus and just a name for any heterodox group (cf. ter Haar 1992, p. 208). As for Ye Langsheng, historical sources do not make a link with the White Lotus teachings (ter Haar, p. 170, note 158). Nevertheless, the information provided by the *Annual Letter* of 1623 (and probably supplied by Chinese informants) might have some base, given the prominent presence of Ye's teacher, the preacher (*daoren*) Ma Wenyuan, in the sources (Hamashima 1982, pp. 594, 596, nos. 3, 7-9; cf. biography of Su Maoxiang [see note 70], 44.48a9). Although there is no further information about this Ma as regards his age or place of origin (Hamashima, p. 598), he might have been (or related to) Patriarch Ma, a main figure in the incidents of 1557 in Huzhou. Ye Langsheng's use of the karma mirror technique (mentioned in one document; Hamashima, p. 597, no. 9) reminds of Patriarch Ma who used this technique (ter Haar, p. 182, 191) that was regarded as characteristic of the White Lotus Teachings (p. 193).

ignored the fact that it proved ineffective in the case of a certain Yan, a labourer and the first convert in Deqing, who lost everything in a fire.⁹⁸ He was distressed at seeing that the missionaries had forced a convert, his friend Zhou Guoxiang, to send away his concubine, the mother of his one year old child.⁹⁹ He hardly believed that the poorer adherents of this religion were allowed to call the richer ones "brother" or could expect to be helped by them when they were in distress. He personally had witnessed how some block-carvers, who had given up their jobs and gone to work for the missionaries, after a few months had to beg for their food, while the house of the missionaries was well supplied.¹⁰⁰

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Zuopi clearly shows that Xu did not know about Christianity solely from the books the missionaries published or from merely hearsay. Sometimes Xu refers to what they had written¹⁰¹ and even mentions the titles of some books.¹⁰² Usually, however, he refers to discussions he had with the missionaries—Aleni and Longobardo are mentioned by name—or he quotes what they said.¹⁰³ In the last case he might sometimes be quoting from books,

⁹⁸ *PXJ* 4.31b4; Gernet, p. 137 (1985, p. 101).

⁹⁹ *PXJ* 4.18a1; Gernet, p. 259 (1985, p. 190). Since Xu Dashou was well acquainted with people in Fuzhou, Zhou Guoxiang might be the same person as a friend of the convert (since 1628) Li Jiubiao (the author of *Kouduo richao*, cf. note 29) and native of Liangjiang county (Fuzhou Prefecture). In 1640 with many other friends and disciples of Li's (such as Zhang Geng, see following article) he collaborated in the edition of Li's *Zhenshu*, "Pillow Book" (for further details, see my article in the forthcoming Proceedings of the symposium on Giulio Aleni, Brescia, October 1994). Notice that in Fujian "en 1625, la famille Ceu (= Tcheou [Zhou]) baptisée depuis 3 ans à Nanceu (= Hangchow) appelle un Père" (Dehergne 1957, p. 28). If this refers to Zhou Guoxiang, he was baptized in Hangzhou in 1622.

¹⁰⁰ *PXJ* 4.18b2-6; 18b2-3; Gernet, p. 160 (1985, p. 118). It is hard to verify, whether the Jesuit house in Hangzhou was well supplied. Anyway in 1616 their house in Nanking was not too poorly furnished (see above, article 2, note 10).

¹⁰¹ Without giving a title of a book, see *PXJ* 4.6a6, 6b5, 6b8, 7a10 and 31b8 (quoting a refutation of Buddhism).

¹⁰² Pointing out (*PXJ* 4.34a; Gernet, pp. 253-254) that the word *xiao* (filial piety) is not to be found in books like *Qike* (Diego de Pantoja, 1614), *Tianzhu shiyi* (Matteo Ricci, 1603), *Jiren shipian* (Ricci, 1608), *Shi'er xin* (probably referring to *Pang zi xinjing yiquan*, de Pantoja, ca. 1610) and *Xixue fan* (Giulio Aleni, 1623) or in *Jiaoyou lun* (Ricci, 1595) and *Jihe yuanben* (Ricci, 1607). *Qike* is also quoted (*PXJ* 4.33b2), as is *Tianzhu shiyi* (*PXJ* 4.14a6, 14b2), and *Jihe yuanben* is mentioned once again (*PXJ* 4.37b). He also quotes, without mentioning the author, (*Tianjiao*) *pianshu* (ca. 1621), written by the convert Xiong Shiqi from Jinxian (Jiangxi), who stayed in Hangzhou in the early twenties (*PXJ* 4.5a5, cf. *Juejiao tongwen ji*, *juan* 1, Courant 9254).

¹⁰³ I have counted 65 examples of such references or quotations, see *PXJ* 4.2b-3a, 4b, 7b, 9a, 10b-11b (cf. note 87), 13a, 15a (Aleni and Longobardo), 16b-20a, 21a, 22b-28b, 30a, 31a-b, 37b-38a, 39b-40b. Gernet translated several of these: pp. 113, 137, 145, 159, 160, 167, 168, 187, 202,

but there are clear indications that he is also referring to the oral preaching of the missionaries. Although there cannot be much difference between what they wrote in their books and what they said when preaching, there are statements (as reported by Xu) that one does not find in their books, for example:

They also say that within another three years we will follow them of our own volition and that their Lord of Heaven spontaneously will be exalted above the temple of Confucius. Moreover, they say: "If we do not make all haste to become their followers, in three years from now the Lord of Heaven will become angry with us and will refuse to accept us." These are the lengths to which they go in their seditious talk! (*Zuopi*, f. 31a3-6)¹⁰⁴

p. 128 Xu also had discussions with converts or sympathizers of the missionaries and reports their opinions.¹⁰⁵ He also relates the opinions of opponents: the monk Gude (Daxian) from Hangzhou (see above) and his fellow-townsmen Yu Shihui, who had visited Macao and wrote a book about it that Xu quotes four times.¹⁰⁶

Xu appears to be relatively well informed about the Christian teachings. He quotes parts of the Lord's Prayer, the last article of the Apostles' Creed and three of the Ten Commandments.¹⁰⁷ Xu's statement that, according to the missionaries, before Jesus there were the Lords of Heaven Feilüe (Filius) and Badele (Pater), also seems to be taken from the

232, 232/33, 233/34, 241, 255, 256, 257, 259, 288, 289, 301, 304 (Aleni is not mentioned by name), 315, 319, 321.

¹⁰⁴ Gernet, p. 159 (1985, p. 117).

¹⁰⁵ *PXJ* 4.14a1, 15b10+16a7 (Gernet, p. 74), 16a10, 19a3 (p. 168), 28b8, 29a5, 29b10, 31b2 (p. 137), 32a6, 32b1, 33a8 (p. 220) and 36a5.

¹⁰⁶ The (probably lost) *Lihuo jiyuan* (Urgent Comments on Pigweed and Peas [poor man's food]; ca. 1622): *PXJ* 4.3b, 15a (Gernet, p. 241), 26b (p. 165) and 40b-41a (pp. 179-180). I did not succeed in finding any further information about this book and its author Yu Shihui. According to Gernet (p. 179; 1985, p. 132) he was a Chinese from the Macao region, but Xu calls him a fellow-townsmen of his (*PXJ* 4.3b3).

¹⁰⁷ *PXJ* 4.22b4-5 (Our Father in heaven. Give us today our daily bread. Forgive us the wrong we have done; Gernet, p. 164), 34b8 (May your name be hallowed; p. 141), 25a1 (I believe in the life everlasting; p. 202), 19b1 and 30a10 (5th commandment; p. 255, 258), 18a4 (6th commandment; p. 257), 18a5 and 30b6 (9th commandment; p. 257, 258). His "quotations" differ sometimes slightly: Xu uses *shi* 'to look at' instead of *yuan* 'to desire' (9th commandment); for 'thou shall not' he uses *bu* or *wu* instead of *wu**, and *cheng sheng* for *jian sheng* (be hallowed).

Apostles' Creed.¹⁰⁸ As he calls the Lord's Prayer *Tianzhu jing* "the prayer of the Lord of Heaven" (*oratio dominica*) and says that the first invocation of the barbarian prayer(s) (*yijing shouzhū*) runs: "may your name be hallowed," he seems to be quoting the catechism *Tianzhu jiaoyao*. This text opens with this prayer (*Tianzhu jing*)¹⁰⁹ and also contains the Creed and the Ten Commandments, which Xu quotes too (see note 107). Xu mentions the doctrine of the Trinity, usually called *sanwei yiti* (three persons, one body), but he gives *yixing sanwei* (one nature, three persons), as found in the catechism.¹¹⁰ This all strongly suggests that Xu Dashou has been a catechumen,¹¹¹ or at least that missionaries (Aleni and Longobardo) for some time instructed him in the Christian teachings.

Xu's "quotations" differ sometimes slightly from the texts as given in the catechism (see note 107). This shows that his knowledge was not restricted to or merely based on the text of the catechism and that he was acquainted with other texts. The catechism only gives the Apostles' Creed (*Shi'er A-bo-si-duo-luo Xing-bo-lu*: *Symbolum XII Apostolorum*), the 4th article of which reads: "who suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, died and was buried" (cf. *Courant* 6855, *juan* 1, f. 32a). Xu speaks twice of the crucifixion: "They falsely say that Jesus to atone for the sins of people died nailed on a cross" (f. 3a2); "They say that the Lord of Heaven, for all living beings, once died nailed on a cross" (f. 27b1). This formula resembles the one in the Creed of Nicea and Constantinople ("qui propter nos homines et propter nostram salutem... crucifixus etiam pro nobis") that was read during the *p. 129*

¹⁰⁸ *PXJ* 4.3a7. Although misunderstood by Xu, one might point out that the first two articles of the Creed, before speaking of the incarnation ("conceived by the Holy Spirit"), only deal with the Father and the Son.

¹⁰⁹ *PXJ* 4.34b; Gernet p. 141 (1985, p. 103). The "first invocation" might refer to "[Our Father in Heaven,] may your name be hallowed," but also to the prayer Our Father itself, the first of the three prayers in the catechism. The other two are the Hail Mary (*Shengmu jing*) and the prayer of the sign of the cross (*shenghao jing*: "Lord of Heaven, our Lord, deliver us from our enemies in the name of Ba-de-le, Fei-lüe and Si-bi-li-duo-san-duo. Amen").

¹¹⁰ *PXJ* 4.10b4; Gernet, p. 298 (1985, p. 220); cf. *Courant* 6855 (the same catechism with explanations, *Tianzhu jiaoyao jielüe*, composed by Alfonso Vagnone and published in 1615), *juan* 1, f. 28b2: *Tianzhu yixing er baohan san zunwei*.

¹¹¹ The catechism was officially "transmitted" to a future convert during a ceremony that, some time before being baptized, took place at the altar in the church and that was called *shou jing* "to receive the *jing* (texts, prayers)," i.e., *Tianzhu jing* (Lord's Prayer), *Shengmu jing* (Hail Mary), *Xin jing* (Creed) etc., as found in the catechism (*Tianzhu jiao yao*, *Doctrinae Christianae compendium*). See *traditio symboli* and transmission of the Lord's Prayer in *LThK* 6.53 (Katechumenat). Cf. the description of this ceremony in the *Annual Letter* of 1610 (N. Trigault, November 1611; *Litterae ... Annorum MDCX & XI*, Augustae Vindelicorum, 1615, pp. 1-84), p. 20.

Mass. As the atonement of sins is mentioned in this Creed not in connection with the crucifixion, but with baptism ("confiteor unum baptismum in remissionem peccatorum"), he might also be referring to the preaching of the missionaries. His unusual transliteration of "grace" (*gratia*): *he-la-ji* (see below), instead of *e-la-ji-a* (as in the Chinese text of the Hail Mary), points in the same direction. Xu also mentions the theory of "the four hells" (found in Vagnone's explanation of the catechism) and gives a report of the answer that a missionary gave him, when he asked him about the meaning of the "hell of children" (*limbus puerorum*).¹¹² He discusses with a convert the two days (before the Sunday) of abstinence and fasting and criticizes the distinction made between the eating of meat and of fish.¹¹³ Apparently he not only read the catechism and other books, but also asked for further explanations and held discussions with missionaries and converts.

p. 130 Xu Dashou was well acquainted with the contents of what the missionaries were preaching. The passages—quoted above—in his *Zuopi* dealing with the violation of the rule of the separation of the sexes show that he was also quite well informed about what was going on in the churches and houses of the missionaries in Hangzhou and Deqing. When he speaks of holy water, holy oil, holy casket (*Agnus Dei*), holy salt, holy candles, holy bread, holy fan, purple strip (stole) and strange vestments (*PXJ* 4.18a4-9, cf. 35a7-35b2) and gatherings in the morning (the Mass with sermon) and at night (confessions; *PXJ* 4.20a7-9), one cannot get rid of the impression that he saw with his own eyes the sacraments being administered to men and women.

As already pointed out, Xu is quite emotionally engaged in his subject. Sometimes he gives the impression that he is not, in the first place, indignant about the way some converts (his friend Zhou Guoxiang, his fellow-townsmen Yan and the block-carvers he knew) were deceived by the missionaries—after all he does not mention how these converts themselves felt about it—, but that he is himself a disillusioned convert. Take the following passage:

¹¹² *PXJ* 4.26a5; Gernet, p. 233/34 (1985, p. 172). Cf. Courant 6855, *juan* 1, f. 34a5-34b7, reproduced with some slight modifications in the revised version (1648?) of Ruggieri's *Tianzhu shengjiao shilu* (ff. 22a8-23a1, translated by Gernet, p. 239/40).

¹¹³ *PXJ* 4.30a (*keji zhengnian er zhairi*), cf. Yang Tingyun, *Daiyi pian* (Treatise to Supplant Doubts; 1621), *juan* shang, f. 14b1: *keji zhengzhi zhi zhai* (WX, p. 530). For Xu's criticism, see Gernet, p. 256.

They also teach people to pray for *he-la-ji* (*gratia*, grace). *He-la-ji* means the utmost of blessing and wisdom. But, if you are troubled by severe illness year by year, then it means [that I should say to myself:] "the Lord of Heaven loves me" [*Tianzhu ai wo*]. If you investigate what blessing and wisdom means [in this case], they answer: "Illness is precisely something by which blessing will be obtained, as it is compensated in the world to come." Whereupon I said: "Who has ever seen the world to come?"¹¹⁴

We know from the *Annual Letter* of 1623 that in (probably) the year before he composed his *Zuopi*, his mother died, and that "he transformed his house into a temple of the idols, where he keeps many 'bonzes', who are all the time reciting [sutras] for the benefit of his deceased parents and relatives" (see above). If Xu, the only son of a respected official and philosopher, had indeed been a convert or catechumen, the following passage might refer to his own parents:

As for fathers and mothers already deceased, who never in their lifetimes heard of the heterodox doctrine, if they have been very virtuous and wise, they certainly are condemned unjustly to the purificatory hell (*limbus patrum*). If they happen to have been quite ordinary people, then it is a mistake to have them enter [the hell of] purging one's crimes or [that of] eternal suffering.¹¹⁵ But they (the missionaries) are of the [following] opinion: "Suppose there is a filial son who flatters our Lord of Heaven to allow them (his parents) to enter the hall of Heaven, then [still] the wrath of Heaven is terrible and extremely difficult to appease; even if he keeps firm in his filial intention, it will be of no help to the soul of his parents."¹¹⁶

In the spring of 1625, when Xu visits Ye Xianggao in Fuqing (Fuzhou Prefecture, Fujian) and is embarrassed to see Aleni there too, he suddenly, in Ye's presence, thanks

¹¹⁴ *PXJ* 4.31a8-31b1; cf. Gernet, p. 232 (1985, p. 171). This passage is followed by the account of the use of the *Agnus Dei* by converts, successful (in the case of Li Zhizao) during the city fire in Hangzhou (1621), but inefficient in the case of a certain Yan from Deqing (see above, notes 74, 98). Then follows the complaint by Gude (see above, note 52).

¹¹⁵ These two hells, according to Xu, are reserved for those who are not Christians (*PXJ* 4.26a7; Gernet, p. 233 and 239; cf. above note 112). There might be some misunderstanding on the part of Xu, as the hell of purging one's crime (*lianzui*) cannot but refer to purgatory, the temporary stay of "baptized sinners." Vagnone's explanation (1615) of the "purificatory hell" and purgatory itself (reproduced in the revised edition of Ruggieri's catechism), however, is not clear at this point; cf. Gernet, p. 233 note 4 (1985, p. 72; p. 284 note 152). After all, Xu seems to be transmitting correctly the teaching of the missionaries that nothing could be done to save parents, who had died unbaptized.

¹¹⁶ *PXJ* 4.17a6-10. Cf. Gernet, p. 228 (1985, p. 168).

Aleni for having consoled and visited him on the occasion of his mother's death (see below). One wonders: how could Aleni have consoled and visited Xu, a member of a well-to-do family in Deqing, if he had not been a convert or catechumen? If this had been the case, Aleni could not have offered much consolation to a filial son (supposing that Xu talked about himself) who wanted "to flatter the Lord of Heaven" to have his unbaptized parents enter Heaven. When the *Annual Letter* relates that the relative of Didacus (Xu Dashou) in the year before he composed his anti-Christian book, had Buddhist monks recite sutra's for the benefit of his deceased parents—as such a rather irrelevant kind of information, but almost presented as an anti-Christian act—one wonders whether the compiler of *Annual Letter* knew quite well that this was also meant to demonstrate his resentment, as the missionaries in this respect had nothing to offer to a filial son.

It is difficult to give a definite answer to the question of whether or not Xu had been a former convert. Anyway he would not have been the first convert in China to later become an opponent of the missionaries and their teachings. According to Aleni, Shen Que, the instigator of first serious anti-Christian movement (1616/17), had been a former convert:

Among those who at first revered the teachings (of the Lord of Heaven) there was the Honourable Shen (personal name: Que, a native of Zhejiang), who in memorials had impeached the Western studies.¹¹⁷

Aleni made this statement in a section of Yang's biography, where he relates an episode that took place towards the end of 1622. Shen Que had already been dismissed then as Grand Secretary and Yang Tingyun had just received his appointment to Surveillance Commissioner in Huguang Province. Yang, however, had refused to take up that office, because he feared for the safety of the Western scholars (*xishi*), who were staying in his house in Hangzhou.¹¹⁸ In a conversation with Shen, Yang assured him that he would not

¹¹⁷ *Yang Qiyuan xiansheng shiji* (Biography of Master Yang Qiyuan [Yang Tingyun]; Courant 1016 VI), f. 11a: chu feng jiao zhe you Shen gong zhe (ming Que, Zhe ren) shu tan Xixue.

¹¹⁸ On 25 July 1622 Yang was appointed Surveillance Commissioner of Daliang Circuit (Kaifeng and Guide Prefectures), see Standaert 1988, p. 16. Michael Zhang, a convert of Aleni (baptized in Hangzhou on 29 September 1621), had hoped that Aleni would have accompanied Yang on his journey to Daliang and visit him in Yuanwu (near Kaifeng), so that he could make his confession. He was greatly disappointed, when he heard the news that the appointment had not gone through and Yang

take up his office in Huguang, as long as he could not be sure that nothing would happen to them. Shen answered that the question of the Western scholars had already been settled. Apparently this meant that Yang had nothing to fear, as according to Western sources he took up his office towards the very end of 1622.

The fact that Shen Que had been a former convert, is only specifically mentioned in this biography of Yang Tingyun. Earlier documents, however, contain information about Shen Que that seems to confirm it. Shen, when he was an official in Peking (1592-1615), used to receive visits from the missionaries, and once he discussed with Ricci and Xu Guangqi the relative merits of Buddhism and Christianity.¹¹⁹ Shortly after Shen's first memorial against the missionaries (June/July 1616), Xu Guangqi expressed his amazement about Shen's change of attitude: first a good friend of the family, but suddenly not any longer.¹²⁰

THE SPREAD OF SHENGCHAO ZUOPI

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Xu Dashou did not simply restrict himself to publishing *Zuopi* in 1623, but was also active in the spread of his book, which confirms his personal commitment. As we have seen, he had already presented it to the magistrate of Deqing early in 1624. Also towards the end of 1624 the book was used against missionaries and converts, although it is not clear whether Xu played an active part in this, as was the case in 1625 (see below). The *Annual Letter* of 1624 reports:

had to go to Chu instead (Huguang Province, cf. LA 1622; Standaert 1988, p. 80, note 29), see Michael's letter to Aleni, reproduced in Michael's biography, Courant 1098). After having been "Taoly in Provincia Huquam" for exactly three months Yang was appointed to a higher office in Peking, see LA of 1623, f. 117v/118r and f. 398r/v (Latin). Yang Tingyun was called to Peking in May 1623, so he must have been nominated to the post in Huguang in late 1622 or maybe even very early in 1623.

¹¹⁹ See above, the first article (notes 217 and 220).

¹²⁰ Letter (no. 11) to his family, written early in the 8th month of 1616 (XGQJ, p. 492, note 1): "The priest from the West were impeached by the North and South Ministry of Rites. I don't know how it got started. Most likely the affair started in the South, but Elder Uncle Shen has always been considered a friend of ours. Now all of a sudden he has changed his attitude. I can't understand why" (King [see article 1, note 72], p. 24-25). Cf. XGQJ, p. 492 (*Jia shu*, no. 11).

Ce neantmoins en Hanceo (Hangzhou) plus qu'aux autres provinces du Roiaume la persecution fut si sanglante, qu'elle arriva à tel point que l'on bannit les nostres de la ville, & le Docteur Leon (Li Zhizao) fut en grand danger de sa personne. Pour entendre le fait, on doit se ressouvenir qu'il y a une ville appelée le Tecim (Deqing), distante d'une iournée de Heanceo, peuplée de trois cens Chrestiens: en icelle, un Docteur ennemy iuré de la loi Chrestienne, avoit publié contr'elle un livre plein de grands blasphemes. Cete occasion sembla tres-bonne à l'un des Mandarins ennemi du Docteur Leon, depuis vingt-cinq ans. C'est pourquoy il porta le livre au vice-Roi, blasmant l'auteur d'un costé, de l'autre neantmoins disant tant de mal & de mensonges de la loi Chrestienne, qu'il assevroit qu'elle estoit la plus mechante secte du monde digne d'estre bannie. (LA 1624, p. 27)

The result of this was that Christianity, like other heterodox teachings, was proscribed. In December of that year (LA 1624, p. 34), however, the former (since August 1624) Grand Secretary Ye Xianggao passed Hangzhou, through his way to Fujian, and solved the difficulties.¹²¹

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il refuta tellement les diverses calomnies objectees par le Mandarins, que le vice-Roy changeant d'avis, revoqua l'Edict qu'il avoit contre la loy Chrestienne, en publiant un autre contre les autres Sectes. (LA 1624, p. 35).

Ye also had a long conversation with Aleni and invited him to come to Fujian the next spring (LA 1624, pp. 36-42).¹²² When Aleni arrived in Fuzhou in April 1625,

un certain habitant de Tecin (Deqing) qui iustement alors se retrouvoit en cette ville capitale. C'étoit celui-là mesme qui, comme nous écrivîmes l'an passé, avoit mis en lumiere un livre contre la loy de Dieu, dont il portoit avec soy beaucoup d'exemplaires, qu'il alloit semant par les maisons des Mandarins, qui preoccupez de ces maximes pestilentes, formoient divers prejugez totalement contraires au progrez de l'Evangile. (LA 1625, p. 174)

121 Ye was allowed to resign as Grand Secretary on 22 August 1624. Four days later he left Peking and arrived home (Fuqing) on 30 December 1624. Cf. his memorial *Dao jia xie en shu* (1625 9.IV, 14 May): departure from Peking on 13.VII (August 26) and arrival home on 21.XI (Ye Xianggao, *Lunfei zoucao*, Xu zoucao, 14.42a-44a; see *Mingji shiliao jizhen*, series 2, Taipei 1977, vol. 7, pp. 3693-3697).

122 See also Aleni's letter (Hangzhou, 3 February 1625), reproduced in *Brevis Relatio* (cf. note 83).

Bartoli (1663) adds the information that the author was beloved by the "mandarins" of Fuzhou, because his father had been Governor of Fujian.¹²³ This time a convert, baptized as Melchior, solved the difficulties:

Melchior étant allé trouver ce Payen, en la boutique duquel avoit été forgé cedit livre contre la loy de Dieu, sceut si bien luy faire voir & toucher au doigt les absurditez dont ce bel oeuvre étoit tissu, que luy-même étonné de son asnerie, avec beaucoup de ressentiment de sa legereté, promit de ietter au feu tous les exemplaires qui luy restoient, & Dieu par sa douce providence disposa tellement les choses, que le Pere retourné a visiter le Colao (Ye Xianggao), trouva cet homme auteur du livre en la sale, qui iettant les yeux sur le Pere Iules (Aleni), le reconnut aussi tost, avouant luy être grandement obligé, puis qu'il l'avoit consolé, & visité en la mort de sa mere, d'où s'ensuivit qu'en presence de ce Seigneur (Ye Xianggao) il luy demanda pardon, & apres une longue trainée de compliments, le même iour l'alla trouver au logis, pour s'excuser de nouveau de cete sienne ieunesse. (LA 1625, pp. 177-178)

Who was this Melchior, said to be a native of Fujian and surnamed Ceu (according to Bartoli and Dunyn-Szpot),¹²⁴ who succeeded in convincing Xu of the absurdity of his book? He had been baptized in Hangzhou in 1622 and had arrived in Fuzhou a few months before Aleni, where he had baptized several people (who were later rebaptized by Aleni). The *Annual Letter* of 1622 relates how he—surnamed Zhao¹²⁵—had been the victim of a fraud during the metropolitan examination (*huishi*) of 1616. A relative of his had stolen his papers and copied them, and he, Melchior, had decided to rewrite his own. His relative won first place among the 350 candidates and Melchior sixth. The other candidates were dumbfounded that Melchior's mediocre relative—who according to some had bought both his *xiuca* and *juren* degrees—had won first place and they protested. During a re-examination Melchior's relative achieved poor results and confessed to fraud. Both he and Melchior were

123 "... Mandarini, a'quali il Letterato era caro, in riguardo del padre suo, stato quivi medesimo in ufficio di Vicerè" (Bartoli, *Della Cina. Libro Quarto*, p. 808 [1625]). Cf. Ignatius Dunyn-Szpot, *Historiae Sinarum*, Partis II. Liber III (1626, Tienki 6). Apparently there are, or have been, more sources that dealt with this story about Xu Dashou (Fuzhou, 1625).

124 According to Dehergne (1957), p. 28, Ceu stands for Tcheou (Zhou). Dunne (1962, p. 190) speaks of Melchior Chu (Zhu).

125 The Italian original reads "Chao" (see Streit, *Bibliotheca Missionum*, vol. V, p. 754), as does the Latin translation of this *Annual Letter* in *De Novis Christianae Religionis Progressibus* (Monasterii Westphaliae 1627, pp. 142-177), p. 172 (copy at Nederlands Scheepvaart Museum, Amsterdam).

deprived of their degree. Nevertheless, Melchior was held in high esteem, and literati were eager to have him as teacher of their children. Around 1620, Yang Tingyun succeeded in getting him as instructor of his eldest son and some other children of high officials in Hangzhou. In this way Melchior came into contact with the missionaries, and on Christmas Day 1622 was baptized as Melchior (one of the Three Kings), see *LA* 1622, pp. 214-217. The story of the examination-fraud of 1616 is also told in the examination annals of *Mingshi* and in the biography of Wu Daonan (examiner in 1616), so we know the names of the two candidates: Shen Tonghe (first place), son of Shen Jiwen, and Zhao Mingyang (sixth place), both natives of Wujiang (Suzhou Prefecture).¹²⁶ *Suzhou fuzhi* mentions them among the *jinshi* of 1616, but with the note "disqualified" after their names.¹²⁷ *Suzhou fuzhi* also gives the *zi* of Zhao Mingyang: Boyong. In the biography of the son of Zhang Geng, Michael Zhang Shi (1605-1623), who stayed with his father in Hangzhou from early 1621 until early 1622, we read that Zhao Boyong of Wujiang was among those who had known Michael well and was full of praise for him, as was Yang Tingyun (who wrote a preface for this biography).¹²⁸ Zhao Mingyang wrote a preface to a pious work of Michael's, *Moxiang quyi*.¹²⁹

¹²⁶ *MS* 70.1704 and 217.5743. For more details, see *SZSL* 542.6a (vol. 120, p. 10309) and 543.4a (p. 10317), quoted in Huang Yunmei, *Mingshi kaozheng*, vol. 2 (Peking 1980), pp. 523-524; see also *GQ* 82.5096, 5097. In the Latin version of the *Annual Letter* (cf. note 125) the candidate who won first place is called "Ho ci yuan," which name might be the result of a mistaken reading of "Shen Tonghe, Jiwen zi" (Shen Tonghe, son of Jiwen). Shen Jiwen, *jinshi* of 1577, was governor of Henan (1605-1608) and died in November 1612; see Wu Tingxi 1982, p. 424; *GQ* 81.5025.

¹²⁵ ¹²⁷ *Suzhou fuzhi* (1877 edition), 60.31a. They are not mentioned as *jinshi* of 1616 in *Wujiang xianzhi* (1747 edition) and not even as *juren* (1615, Shen Tonghe; 1612, Zhao Mingyang), see j. 24, ff. 15b-16a (cf. *Suzhou fuzhi* 61.55b-56b). In *Jiangnan tongzhi* (1736 edition; repr. Taipei 1967) they are both mentioned as *jinshi* without further comment (j. 123, f. 24b; vol. 4, p. 2078).

¹²⁸ Courant 1098 (*Zhang Shi*, ms., 18 folios), f. 4b (Wujiang Zhao Boyong gong) and Courant 1016 VIII (*Zhang Mike'er yiji*, ms., 11 folios), f. 5a. For Yang's preface, see Courant 1098, ff. 16a-18a, and Courant 1016 VI (Standaert 1988, pp. 72, 139). For the stay of the Zhang's in Hangzhou during the period 1621-1622, see the following article (notes 56-57).

¹²⁶ ¹²⁹ The text has been preserved, it seems, only in the Chinese collection of the former Beitang library. Verhaeren (1945) gives a short description: "*Mo siang ts'u yi*, par Tchang Michel. [...] Préface de *Tchao Ming-yang*, de *Ou-kiang*" (p. 123). Verhaeren only gives the Chinese characters of *Moxiang quyi*, but it is evident that "*Tchao Ming-yang de Ou-kiang*" refers to Zhao Mingyang of Wujiang. Zhao must have been the one who had Yang Tingyun's *Tian Shi mingbian* (Clear Discussion on [the Teachings of] Heaven and Buddhism) printed and asked Zhang Geng to write the preface. Zhang Geng calls him "the *taichang* Mr. Zhao of Gu-Wu (Suzhou), who once followed his father Mr. (Zhao) Hanchuan (?) in order to study in Yang Tingyun's house" (Gu-Wu Zhao *taichang*, *chang cong zunren hanzhuan gong*, *dushu yu jingzhao zhi shi*; Xu Zongze 1949, p. 114). The present edition of *Tian Shi mingbian* (written before 1621; see Standaert 1988, p. 69) was published by the church, "established by imperial decree" (*chijian*). According to Fang Hao in his bibliographical note to

The information given by the Annual Letter of 1625, although mistaken in regarding Zhao Mingyang as a native of Fujian, appears to be quite reliable. That Xu Dashou already knew Aleni personally is confirmed by *Zuopi* that reports about their discussions. It is also not at all unlikely that Xu, who some 16 years earlier had asked Ye Xianggao to compose the funeral inscription for his father (see above), visited Ye Xianggao. Also the information that Xu burnt the remaining copies of his anti-Christian book is confirmed, in a way, by Chengyong's exclamation, in 1637, that *Zuopi* is still there, and by Zhixu's lament, in 1643, that it hardly circulated.

reprint of this text (WXXB), this church is the Dongtang in Peking (established in 1655). But the epithet "established by imperial decree" was also (or even only, as far as I know) given to the church in Fuzhou (Fujian) during the short Longwu reign (1645-1646, Southern Ming), see Zürcher 1990a, p. 435. The same church in Minzhong (Fuzhou) published in 1645 (yiyou) Aleni's *Wushi yanyu* (with also a preface by Zhang Geng), in the same year (Longwu yuannian yiyou) Longobardo's *Sheng Josafa shimo* (revised by Zhang Geng) and in 1646 (Longwu 2) Aleni's *Xingxue cushu*, see Courant 3406, 3409 and 6758. So *Tian Shi mingbian* seems to have been published by this church in 1645 or 1646. Zhang Geng calls Zhao an official in the Court of Imperial Sacrifices (*taichang si*). It is unlikely that this refers to the time before the examination fraud of 1616 (Zhao was a *juren* of 1612, see above, note 127), so he might have been rehabilitated afterwards. In the winter of Chongzhen 1 (1628/29) a censor requested it, but the decision was suspended (*GQ* 89.5466). He was also accused of having been in the service of some eunuchs (*GQ* 89.5448, 1628, 6th month, the eunuch Li Yongzhen, 1583-1628, cf. *DMB* 951a; *GQ* 90.5493, 1629, 7th month, the eunuch Wei Xueyan). Possibly Zhao Mingyang was an official at the Longwu court and had been rehabilitated, maybe even before 1645. I have not looked further into this question.

ZHANG GENG, CHRISTIAN CONVERT OF LATE MING TIMES:
DESCENDANT OF NESTORIAN CHRISTIANS?

57 Hubert Verhaeren's article "Tchang Keng et la Religion de la Croix" (1945)¹ is actually a biography of Zhang Geng, a *juren* of 1597 and native of Jinjiang (prefectural city of Quanzhou, Fujian). Zhang became the "pillar" of Christianity in Fujian during the last two decades of the Ming dynasty. In this biography Verhaeren introduced the hypothesis that Zhang Geng was a descendant of a family who had once been adepts of "the religion of the cross" (*shizi jiao*), as Nestorian Christians were called during the Yuan dynasty. Zhang Geng should be the same person as the *juren* Zhang (only known by his surname), whom the Jew Ai Tian (*juren* of 1573 and a native of Kaifeng, Henan) in July 1605 introduced to Ricci as a member of a family who until about a century earlier had been "worshippers of the cross." This hypothesis of Verhaeren's is an elaboration of an identification that Havret (1897) seems to have made for the first time:² the convert Zhang Geng, who discovered a Nestorian cross in Quanzhou in April 1638, is none other than Zhang Gengyu, a native of Qiyang (in Shenxi), who early in 1625, not yet a convert, was the first to realize that the inscription on the Nestorian monument of 781, discovered at Xi'an in 1623 or 1625, contained a Christian text. According to Bartoli (1663), the *juren* who in early 1625 "discovered" the monument of 781 (Zhang Gengyu) had met Ricci nearly 18 years earlier (in 1607). Later (before 1638) he became a Christian and probably was an official in Fujian, when in 1638 he discovered a Nestorian cross. Havret's identification of Zhang Geng with Zhang Gengyu did gain quite a wide acceptance.³

¹ In *Bulletin Catholique de Pékin*, see bibliography (Verhaeren 1945).

² Havret 1897, pp. 38, 49, 95-96, 174.

³ *DMB* 1.4a (L.C. Goodrich): Zhang Geng "T. [Gengyu], H. [Xiazhan, Minggao], christened Matthew, cj 1597, native of Chin-chiang, Fukien, who met Ricci in 1607, and who later, early in 1625, was probably the first Christian to appreciate the significance of the Nestorian monument of 781." See also *DMB* 2:1148a (B.B. Szczesniak); *FR* 2.354-355, note 2 (P. D'Elia); Dunne, pp. 193-194, 197 (on p. 194 he even skips the character *yu*, when quoting Li Zhizao's postface that speaks of Zhang Gengyu). This identification is not found, however, in Moule 1930, see pp. 29-30, 79. Fang Hao (1967, p. 267) pointed out that formerly this identification was often made, but that Zhang Geng cannot be the same person as Zhang Gengyu, a native of Qiyang (Qishan) in Shenxi.

58 Verhaeren, well aware of some biographical details of Zhang Geng's life, corrected Havret's identification—without questioning this identification itself—in two respects. When Zhang Gengyu saw the Nestorian monument he was already a Christian (Zhang Geng had been baptized in 1621) and he was not a native of Qiyang (Zhang Geng was a native of Jinjiang), but an official in Qiyang (instead of in Fujian). Moreover, Verhaeren went one step further: he identified Zhang Gengyu (= Zhang Geng) as the *juren* Mr Zhang, who met Ricci in 1605, by combining the information about the *juren* Mr Zhang in Aleni's biography of Ricci (1630) with that about Zhang Geng in the same biography. So Verhaeren presents us a Zhang Geng who not only discovered a Nestorian cross in 1638, but also the Nestorian monument in 1623, and, in addition, was himself a descendant of Nestorian Christians.

In this article I will try to show that the arguments that Verhaeren gave for the identification of Zhang Geng with both Zhang Gengyu and Mr Zhang do not fit. Mr Zhang, Zhang Gengyu and Zhang Geng are three different persons. I have not succeeded in identifying Zhang Gengyu. The same applies to Mr Zhang, although the information about him, provided by Bartoli and Dunyn-Szpot (not used by Verhaeren),⁴ which I could not verify, makes it already likely that he is neither Zhang Gengyu nor Zhang Geng.

It is not clear (and may never become) who after all Mr Zhang is, and no further information about Zhang Gengyu is available. Moreover, a complete biography of Zhang Geng has still to be written. Therefore, a refutation of Verhaeren's hypothesis might appear to remain weak. Therefore, I will conclude the two parts of this paper (on the identification of Mr Zhang with Zhang Geng and on that of Zhang Gengyu with Zhang Geng) with a summary of an essay (*Yong Xia jie*) and a translation of an inscription (see appendix 1), both composed by Zhang Geng and not consulted by Verhaeren. These texts, besides other arguments given in this paper, show that the hypothesis of Verhaeren is quite untenable.

Verhaeren writes about Zhang Geng with due respect. That Zhang Geng, in my opinion, never saw the Xi'an stele, never met Ricci and was not a descendant of the "adorers of the cross," does not make him, however, a less interesting convert.

⁴ Ignatius Dunyn-Szpot, *Historiae Sinarum*, ms. circa 1700, *Japonica-Sinica* 102 (Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu).

(I) MR ZHANG, DESCENDANT OF NESTORIAN CHRISTIANS,
AND ZHANG GENG

At the end of his *Tianzhu shiyi* (1601) Matteo Ricci recounts that soon after the Ascension the Gospel spread all over the Great West. He continues:

Examining Chinese history, emperor Ming of the Han then heard of it and sent envoys to the West to look for the scriptures. Halfway the envoys by mistake arrived in India, took a Buddhist scripture and brought it to China. Until today your country has been deluded by it and could not hear of the orthodox Way, which has really been a disaster for science and arts. Is that not something to be sad about?⁵

Ricci apparently did not believe in the tradition that the apostle Thomas had preached the Gospel in China. It is found, for example, in a letter (1546) of Franciscus Xaverius and in the *Tractado da China* (1569) of the dominican Gaspar da Cruz. Trigault inserted the story in his Latin translation of Ricci's *Della Entrata*.⁶

In 1602 Ricci first came to know about the existence of Christian communities in area's outside the Great Wall in the far Northwest.⁷ In his *Della Entrata* he tells:

It was only a few years ago that we learned for certain that there exist also Christians, especially in the northern provinces, who are called worshippers of the cross. Sixty years ago (around 1550) they flourished to such an extent in regard to the number of their families, and their literary and military abilities that the Chinese became suspicious of them: [...] Their churches were changed into temples of idols and their descendants, although many preserved the custom of making the sign of the cross over their food and drink,

⁵ *Tianzhu shiyi*, j. 2, f. 71b (TXCH 1.632). See also Feng Yingjing in his preface to *Tianzhu shiyi* (TXCH 1.359/360), cf. Xu Zongze (1949), p. 44. In his *Della Entrata* (ca. 1609) Ricci gave a slightly different version. The introduction of Buddhism during the reign of emperor Ming took place at the very time the apostles Thomas and Bartholomeus were preaching the Gospel in India. "So one might assume that the Chinese heard of the fame of the Gospel and because of that fame sent envoys to the West to make inquiries, but that, or by mistake or by maliciousness of the people there, instead of the Gospel they brought back this false teaching to China" (FR N.182, I, 123). Cf. Giulio Aleni, *Sanshan lunxue ji* (1627), WXXB 1.489-490.

⁶ For this tradition, see Moule 1930, pp. 12-13.

⁷ OS 2.290. Cf. J. Spence, *The Memory Palace of Matteo Ricci*, London, 1985, p. 120.

remained so afraid that they did not want to confess to be the progeny of the followers of the cross; and there is nobody, either among them or others, who knows of any occasion to make these crosses. But this symbol of theirs clearly demonstrates that they are the offspring of alien people in China.⁸

On 26 July 1605 Ricci writes to the General of the Jesuits, Claudio Acquaviva:

A few days ago we came to know for certain that there have been a good number of Christians in China for the past five hundred years, and that there are still considerable traces of them in many places. Of recent years I have written that we had found a Christian community in lands subject to China but outside the great northern walls [...] Now we know that in the middle of China [...] in the province of Ho-nan and in the capital which is called K'ai-feng fu there are five or six families of Christians who have now lost almost all the little Christianity they had, because several years ago they turned the church into the temple of an idol, called Kuan wang. [...] We learnt this from a Jew [...]. The name of this man was Ai, of the province of Ho-nan, where he lives in the capital [...] he devoted himself to Chinese studies and graduated as a licentiate. He was now sixty years old and had come to ask for an office which had been granted him in a school in Yang-chou. [...] But in the Ho-nan country there were members of all the three sects (Moors, Jews and Christians), though the Christians were practically extinct. But among them there were many scholars and high officials. Among the rest there is still living a *shang-shu* of Nan-ching named Chang Mêng-nan, a great friend of mine. [...] And he (Ai Tian) said that these people do not like to admit that they are descended of foreigners, a thing little respected in China.⁹ This Chang Mêng-nan looks, as regards his face, like one of our country. [...]

The next day (2 July 1605) the Jew brought to our house a fellow-countryman of his named Chang (Cian) who he said was a descendant of the Christians, who also had to obtain office and had received a post in the province of Shensi near to those ancient Christians outside the walls, who are subject to him by virtue of his new office. With this man we made great friends and he showed a great wish to understand all about our religion and to return to the religion of his forefathers. But in six days he left Peking and

⁸ FR I, N. 173-174, pp. 112-113; translation: Löwenthal 1946, pp. 393-394.

⁹ On 8 March 1608 Ricci wrote: "I sent a brother (Antonio Leita, 1607), to the province of Ho-nan, where we had heard that there were traces of the religion of the Cross, which had been in China long ago, but he could recover nothing of what we wished to learn ... And the reason was that sixty years ago the Chinese wished to seize the members of this religion, and they hid themselves, becoming heathens or Moors from fear, and to this day they do not reveal themselves" (OS II, p. 344; trsl. Moule 1930, p. 6). Cf. OS II, p. 471: Ricci sent someone to Kaifeng "in order to inquire what relics of Christianity existed there ... But there he was better received by the Jews than by the worshippers of the cross. The latter did not want to admit to the brother to be descendants of the worshippers of the cross" (Löwenthal 1946, p. 395).

was always very busy, besides the obstacle which he had in polygamy. And so he left, to settle this another time. But he promised me to do his best in both places, that is in his home and in the place where he held his office, to find out how much was still left of Christianity. [...] I hope in God that with this the door of Christianity in China will be opened still more widely.¹⁰

60 Giulio Aleni (1582-1649) in his Chinese biography of Ricci (autumn 1630) also mentions the meeting of Ricci with Mr Zhang:

When the *juren* Mr Ai [Ai jun], a follower of this (Jewish) religion, went to Peking to present himself for the *jinshi* examinations, he visited Ricci. [...] With Mr Ai also his friend Mr Zhang [tongpao Zhang jun] visited him. He said that formerly there was in Bianliang (Kaifeng prefecture) a religion, called *Shizi jiao* that advocated the worship of the Lord of Heaven. This *juren* himself was a descendant of these believers, but in the last 100 years most of their traditions had become lost. Ricci showed him the holy cross he wore. As soon as Mr Zhang looked at it, he could not keep back his tears. [...] Later Mr Zhang became *jiaoyu* (director of a county school) in Guanzhong (Shenxi). At that time Bento de Goes arrived from the Great West in Guanzhong.¹¹

61 The main argument for the hypothesis that Mr Zhang is none other than Zhang Geng Verhaeren found by combining the just quoted passage (ff. 13b-14a) with a passage near the end of the biography (ff. 19b-20a) that tells of a vision Michael Zhang (born in 1605), the son of Zhang Geng, had a few hours before he died (5 August 1623). In this vision Michael saw himself judged by God and allowed to enter Heaven thanks to the intercession of the apostle Matthew and of Ricci. The story is appended to the biography to show that Ricci even after his death goes on to intervene for the Chinese people before the throne of God.¹²

¹⁰ OS II, pp. 289-290, 291-292; trsl. Moule 1930, pp. 6-9. Cf. Ricci in his *Della Entrata*: "Con questa nova restorno i Nostri molto contenti, parendo che questi nepoti di christiani facilmente ritornerebbono alla loro avita religione" (FR II, N. 727, p. 323). See also Longobardo's letter to Claudio Acquaviva, 23 Nov. 1610: "lasciava sperare che anche gli adoratori della croce potrebbero essere riconditi all'ovile" (FR II, p. 325, n. 2).

¹¹ *Daxi Li Xitai xiansheng xingji* (Courant 1015), ff. 13b-14a. Bento de Goes arrived in Suzhou in the most northwestern part of the Ming province Shenxi (present-day Gansu) approximately on Christmas 1605 (DMB 473a).

¹² Courant 1015 (see note 11), f. 19a-b. Ricci himself stressed the importance of sending intercessors for the Chinese people to Heaven: "morivano anco molti de'fanciulli dipoi di battizzati, con che madavano al cielo novi intercessori per questa gente" (FR N. 315, I, p. 262). Cf. LA 1611 (Trigault, August 1612), p. 15: "P. Mattheus Riccius diem suum obiens, rem Sinicam è caelo procurat (quod ipse futurum longè ante praedixerat, ut infra narrabitur) quam reliquis omnibus retrò lapsis

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The story begins as follows:

Later (after Ricci had died) Zhang Shi, a native of Jinjiang in Fujian, baptized as Michael, [...] in the year *guihai* (1623), the third year of Tianqi,¹³ followed his father the *juren* Zhang Xiazhan, personal name Geng, baptized as Matthew, to Zhongzhou (Henan), where he was in charge of a school.

Verhaeren concludes (pp. 220-221):

Ainsi, à trois pages de distance, Aleni nous présente, dans son premier récit un licencié Tchang directeur de l'enseignement au Chensi en 1605, dans le second un licencié Tchang exerçant la même fonction au Honan en 1623. Le second est bien connu; du moment qu'on nous avertit qu'il est le père de Tchang Michel, c'est donc Tchang Keng, appelé aussi *Keng-yu*, *Shia-tchan* et *Ming-kao* [note 6: [Gengyu], [Xiazhan], [Minggao] (cf. Pfister, p. 1093)]. Aleni ne dit pas un mot pour les distinguer, alors qu'il lui eût suffi d'ajouter un *tze* ou un *hao* au nom du premier, pour marquer leur non-identité. Si l'on songe qu'à l'époque où il écrit, en 1630, le Tchang Keng du second récit est en vie, et en relations constantes avec le P. Aleni, il ne fait pas de doute que les lecteurs contemporains n'ont vu que ce seul personnage dans les deux récits de l'auteur.

The argument that Verhaeren gives for identifying Mr Zhang with Zhang Geng is surprising. Aleni first speaks of the *juren* Mr Zhang, who tells Ricci that formerly there were in Kaifeng people who worshipped the cross and that he himself is a descendant of these people. This information strongly suggests that he was a native of Kaifeng (as Ricci says in his letter of July 1605). Then, further on in the Ricci biography, Aleni mentions the *juren* Zhang Xiazhan, father of Michael Zhang (a native of Jinjiang in Fujian). He even gives in a note—in smaller characters—his personal name (Geng) and Christian name (Madou). In the first case, however, he should not have given the names of Mr Zhang, because everyone knew that Mr Zhang was none other than Zhang Geng mentioned further on. One would have expected the opposite: first his full name and later only his surname. This is in fact what one finds in this biography. The first time a person is mentioned his full name is given or, for

annis."

¹³ The date of 1623 is mistaken. According to the biography of Michael Zhang, his father went to Henan in the spring of *renxu* (1622). This date is confirmed by the *Annual Letter* of 1622 (see below). The mistake is probably due to the fact that the event told after this sentence took place in 1623 (5 August). For this date, see the biography of Michael Zhang (Courant 1016 and 1098).

some high officials surname and official title.¹⁴ If a person is mentioned again in the same passage, only his surname is given, followed by *gong* or *zi* (Mister). If he is mentioned again in another passage, his full name is repeated or his surname and official title.¹⁵ Verhaeren suggests that Aleni in this biography (autumn 1630), composed for converts in Fujian, did not have to explain that Mr Zhang is Zhang Geng. But such a suggestion is in contradiction with the fact that at the end of the biography Aleni did explain it. Moreover, in another text, *Kouduo richao*, also written for converts in Fujian and in the same period (1630-1640), Zhang Geng is usually referred to as "the [former] county magistrate Mr Zhang" (Zhang *linggong*). The story about the intercession of the apostle Matthew and Ricci in behalf of Michael Zhang is told there too (1.5a, conversation on 2 April 1630) and his father is mentioned as "the county magistrate Zhang Geng."¹⁶ Therefore, the fact that Mr Ai and Mr Zhang are the only persons in the Ricci biography, who are called *jun* (gentleman), indicates that Aleni simply did not know the names of these two gentlemen.

Verhaeren, having already taken for granted the identification of Mr Zhang as Zhang Geng, could not but give a rather forced interpretation of the fact that Zhang Geng was a native of Jinjiang (Fujian) and Mr Zhang a native of Kaifeng: Ai Tian, a native of Kaifeng, might have been a kind of protector of Mr Zhang, as the Jews patronized the followers of the "religion of the cross," according to Longobardo. Therefore, Mr Zhang did not necessarily come from Kaifeng.¹⁷ The circumstance that in 1605 Mr Zhang and in 1623

¹⁴ For example, *da situ* Zhang gong (f. 12a8) refers to Zhang Mengnan, cf. *FR* III, p. 10; cf. Lin Jinshui 1985, p. 127.

¹⁵ Li Zhizao, for example, is first mentioned as "*dushui* Wocun Li gong (*hui* Zhizao)," then as "*Li jiongqing* Wocun," then as "*taipu* Li Wocun gong" and finally twice as "*taipu* Li gong" (*Courant* 1015, ff. 12a9, 14b5, 15b8, 16b8, 19b4).

¹⁶ Another example is Ye Xianggao, an important person for the Fujian mission, as he invited Aleni to come to Fujian. When mentioned for the first time (f. 7a7), he is referred to as "*xiao zongbo* Ye gong" (without giving his native place). A note explains that this refers to the *xiangguo* Wenzhong (posthumous name of Ye Xianggao, who died in 1627). Further on in the Ricci biography he is mentioned twice again as "*xiangguo* Ye Wenzhong" (f. 12a7, 19a9). Although Ye Xianggao was a well-known person, Aleni nevertheless explained to the readers who he was.

¹⁷ Longobardo, letter of 23 November 1610 to Claudio Acquaviva: "Ces chrétiens de la Croix, parce qu'ils adoraient le même Dieu que les Juifs, en vinrent à faire leurs prières dans les synagogues, et les Juifs, pour la même raison, leur concédèrent de faire ainsi. De plus, comme les Juifs en Chine les surpassent en nombre, en dignité et en richesse, ils se donnent comme leur protecteurs" (*OS* 2.493; translation by Verhaeren, p. 224). Verhaeren continues: "C'est peut-être à cet titre que Ngai T'ien a introduit Tchang Keng auprès de Ricci. Il connaissait bien les Che-tze-kiao,

Zhang Geng were educational officials, seems to have confirmed Verhaeren in his identification of them as the same person (p. 220, see above). But such an argument can hardly be taken seriously.¹⁸ It would not have been standard procedure that a *juren* after having become *jiaoyu* is still serving in the same function 18 years later. After three years they were evaluated to see whether they were qualified for a promotion to chief local administrative posts (such as county magistrates).¹⁹ Moreover, Mr Zhang might have been of advanced age (like Ai Tian, who in 1605 was 60 years). Then, it is a question if he still was an official in 1623. And if Mr Zhang was much younger than Mr Ai, he might have been promoted in the course of 18 years to another office. In fact, it is only Aleni's Ricci biography that says that Zhang Geng was an educational official in Henan. Other sources indicate that he was county magistrate there (see below, chapter 2). Moreover, by identifying Mr Zhang as Zhang Geng, the latter should have become in 1605 *jiaoyu* in Shenxi, while there is not any source for such a contention. Zhang Geng became in 1613 *jiaoyu* of Pinghu in Zhejiang (see below, chapter 2) and it might have been his first office, as biographical sources do not mention that he served in any office before that year. One cannot but conclude that Verhaeren could not give any solid argument for the identification of Mr Zhang with Zhang Geng.

Verhaeren mainly relied on Aleni's biography of Ricci. Sources that he did not

il était du même grade littéraire que Tchang Keng, tous deux se trouvaient à la capitale pour le même but, celui d'obtenir une charge; ces diverses circonstances ont suffi pour les mettre en relation, sans qu'il soit nécessaire de supposer qu'il arrivaient ensemble de K'aifong" (p. 224).

¹⁸ Aleni does not use the same term. He calls Mr Zhang *jiaoyu* (the official designation). Of Zhang Geng he says that he was in charge of a school (*zhangjiao*, to supervise education) in Zhongzhou (Henan or more specifically Kaifeng Prefecture). Hucker (1985) does not give the term *zhangjiao*, but it is used in *Mingshi* (75.1851) to describe the task of the highest educational officials (*jiaoshou*, *xuezheng* and *jiaoyu*) in a Prefecture, Department and County.

¹⁹ Regulations proposed in a memorial (1577) by Zhang Juzheng and adopted, see Tai-lo Ma, "The Local Educational Officials of Ming China, 1368-1644," in: *Oriens Extremus* 22 (1975), pp. 11-27, p. 23. As an example one might adduce Ai Tian, who according to Ricci became head of a school in the city of Yangzhou (see Pelliot [cf. note 24], pp. 35, 39). In 1605 he became *jiaoyu* of Baoying county in Yangzhou Prefecture and left this post in 1607 (see Chen Zenghui 1949, p. 8). *Kaifeng fuzhi* and *Xiangfu xianzhi* mention him only as county magistrate (without giving the name of the county or the year of his appointment). Unless this reference is mistaken (*zhixian* instead of *jiaoyu*), Ai Tian had been promoted to county magistrate (Chen Zenghui 1949, p. 10, note 35).

consult are Bartoli²⁰ and Dunyn-Szpot. According to Bartoli (p. 430), Mr Zhang belonged to the family of Zhang Mengnan (1534-1606), a native of Zhongmou, a county near Kaifeng, but living in Xiangfu county of Kaifeng city. Dunyn-Szpot in his *Historiae Sinarum* even tells that Mr Zhang was the brother (*frater*) of the President of the Nanking Ministry of Revenue (Zhang Mengnan).²¹ I have not succeeded in finding a brother of Zhang Mengnan. The only *juren* in his family (besides himself, a *juren* of 1561 and *jinshi* of 1565) was his son Zhang Minbiao (1570-1642), a poet and author, who got his degree in 1591 (he did not become a *jinshi*), but he never did take office.²² The information provided by Dunyn-Szpot might be erroneous, but also Bartoli takes him as a member of Zhang Mengnan's family. Ricci, in his letter of 26 July 1605, writes that five or six families in Kaifeng were descendants of ancient Christians. He speaks of Zhang Mengnan, one of these descendants, just before telling of his meeting with Mr Zhang, another of these descendants. So it might be that Bartoli (or his source) mistakenly concluded that Mr Zhang was apparently a member of the Zhang family. On the other hand, Dunyn-Szpot's information that he was a brother of Zhang Mengnan (even if "frater" has to be taken in an extended sense such as "cousin") is so specific that one

²⁰ Verhaeren (1945, pp. 272-273) consulted Bartoli's *Dell' Historia Della Compagnia di Giesu* only by way of a quotation (dealing with the person who "discovered" the Nestorian inscription, see below, chapter 2) in the book of Havret (p. 37), who does not deal with the subject of Mr Zhang.

²¹ Dunyn-Szpot (cf. note 4), part II, book II, par. III, 7 (*sub* 1605, Vanlye 33). For Zhang Mengnan, see MRZ 525, MS 221.5825-5826.

²² See his biography in *Zhongmou xianzhi* (1936, Zhongguo fangzhi congshu, Huabei difang 96, Taipei, 1968, pp. 282-284). Cf. Qian Qianyi's *Liechao shiji xiaozhuan* (Shanghai, 1983), pp. 640-641, and Morohashi 9812.1533. See also the biography of his father, written by Li Weizhen (*Dabi shanfangji*, j. 63, ff. 24b-31b, reproduced in *Zhongmou xianzhi*, 1936, pp. 593-602), f. 31a (p. 602), and the funeral inscription by Ye Xianggao (reproduced in *Zhongmou xianzhi*, 1936, pp. 624-634), p. 633.

Zhang Minbiao edited the in 1626 revised *Zhongmou xianzhi* (consulted on microfilm), in which he mentions several members of his family. Except himself and his father, there were no other *juren* nor Zhang's who were appointed to *jiaoyu* or other functions in counties or prefectures along the Great Wall in Shenxi.

The Zhangs were descendants of Zhang Gui (+1341), see *Zhongmou xianzhi*, 1626, j.3, f. 13b (Zhang Mengnan was a descendant in the 11th generation). A note says that he belonged to the local worthies to whom offerings were made. Zhang Yinnan is mentioned as one of the two sacrificers (*fengsi sheng*). About Zhang Yinnan (brother or cousin of Zhang Mengnan?) I did not find further information. Zhang Gui had been President of the Ministry of Rites (Yuan dynasty), according to Ye Xianggao (p. 625, see above) and Li Weizhen (see above, only speaking of "an ancestor" and adding "they say"). According to Zhang Minbiao (*Zhongmou xianzhi* j.3, f. 13b), however, his highest function was Route Commander (Hucker 7110.3, rank 3a or 3b) and he was posthumously honoured with several titles, among others, President of the Ministry of War.

wonders if it is not merely a too free interpretation of Bartoli, but based on some source. Whatever might be the case, the information provided by Bartoli and Dunyn-Szpot shows that they took seriously the information that Mr Zhang was a native of Kaifeng, which Zhang Geng was not.

The passage about Mr Zhang in Aleni's Ricci biography, on which Verhaeren relied, poses another question. Aleni calls Mr Zhang a *juren*, while Ricci in his letter of 26 July does not explicitly say so. Ricci tells that the *juren* Mr Ai was in Peking to procure an office. After having told of his meeting with Mr Ai rather extensively, he continues to tell that the following day (2 July) Mr Ai introduced to him Mr Zhang, who was also in Peking to procure an office. This might mean that also Mr Zhang was a *juren*, as Aleni says. According to Aleni, however, the *juren* Mr Ai was in Peking for the *jinshi* examinations,²³ and one wonders if this information made Aleni conclude that Mr Zhang was a *juren* too. Aleni might have taken this information from Ricci's *Della Entrata* (1609), where he writes that Mr Ai was in Peking for the *jinshi* examinations (FR N. 722). Paul Pelliot already pointed out that Ricci made a mistake, as in 1605—which year itself cannot be a mistake—no *jinshi* examinations were held, but in e.g. 1604 and 1607.²⁴ According to Chen Zenghui, Ricci's mistake was more complicated than Pelliot assumed. Ai Tian went to Peking for an examination of *juren*—also called *tingshi*, palace examination—who were advanced in years and who had failed repeatedly to get the *jinshi* degree, to procure an educational office. For Ai Tian this fits quite well, as he was a *juren* since 1573 and (according to Ricci) 60 years of age.²⁵ As Ricci in his *Della Entrata* does not speak about Mr Zhang, Aleni might have concluded that Mr Zhang like Mr Ai was a *juren*.

²³ *Ai xiaolian jixie ru jing*: *jixie* refers to a *juren* going to the capital for the *jinshi* examinations (Morohashi 35220.6). According to D'Elia (FR II, p. 316, note 2) *Jixie* is the courtesy name (*zi*) of Ai Tian, but W. Franke (DMB 2.1142a) gives his *zi* as Jibo. Verhaeren (p. 219) translated: "le licencié Ngai, venu à la capitale avec ses compagnons."

²⁴ P. Pelliot, "Le Juif Ngai, informateur du P. Mathieu Ricci," in: *T'oung Pao* XX (1921), 32-39. Notice that Aleni does not mention the year of Mr Ai's meeting with Ricci. Since he tells that Mr Zhang became *jiaoyu* around the time that Bento de Goes arrived in Shenxi (i.e. towards the end of 1605), it is clear that Aleni (if he knew that de Goes arrived there in 1605) took the meeting as having taken place in 1605.

²⁵ Chen Zenghui 1949, p. 178.

The supposition that Mr Zhang was not a *juren* is not merely inspired by the mistake in Aleni's Ricci biography (a mistake possibly reproduced from Ricci's *Della Entrata*) that Mr Ai was in Peking for the *jinshi* examinations. Two days before Ricci's meeting with Mr Zhang (2 July 1605), on 30 June, there was a palace examination of tribute students who wanted to obtain an educational office.²⁶ The fact that Ricci in his letter of 26 July 1605 does not call Mr Zhang a *juren* (nor does Bartoli) points to the possibility that Mr Zhang was one of the tribute students examined on 30 June. As for Mr Ai, he must have belonged to those people (probably all *juren*) who in the third month of 1605 (18.4-17.5) had been recommended for an educational office, but on 10 July 1605, as the Ministry of Personnel complained, had not yet been appointed.²⁷ Therefore, in July 1605 there were two groups awaiting an appointment to educational official, those already recommended in the third month (April/May) and the tribute students examined on 1 and 30 June. If Mr Zhang belonged to the second group, the tribute students, this does not contradict the information provided by Ricci (letter of 26 July) that the *juren* Mr Ai was in Peking to procure an educational office and that Mr Zhang was there for the same reason. If Mr Zhang appears to have been a tribute student, the identification of Mr Zhang with Zhang Geng, a *juren* of 1597, does not even have any foundation at all.

²⁶ *tingshi yuan jiu jiaozhi suigong*, see SZSL 409.3a, 114.7627 (Wanli 33, V, wuzi = 15.V): 367 annual tribute students (*suigong*) and 29 tribute students "by grace" (*engong*) passed the examination. This was the second and concluding part of this examination. The first part was held on the first of June (*jiwei*, 15.IV), when 404 *suigong* and 30 *engong* participated (SZSL 408.5b, 114.7614). This regulation of examinations on the 15th day of the 4th and of the 5th month was decreed in May 1604 (Wanli 32, IV, *bingshen*), see SZSL 395.3b (113.7438). Before that time there was no fixed date (see MS 71.1716). The *Veritable Records* do not supply the names of the candidates, except the first of both lists (*suigong* and *engong*): Gao Yingkui and Zhang Mingjiu (114.7614). Since there were 396 candidates who passed the examination and Zhang is a quite common surname, it would be unsound to suggest that Mr Zhang might have been Zhang Mingjiu (about whom no further information is given). Notice that Chen Zenghui (1949) does not mention this palace examination of tribute students and takes Mr Zhang as Zhang Geng (see below, note 35).

²⁷ SZSL 409.9a, 114.7639 (Chen Zenghui, p. 179, note 27). The complaint is quite moving. Several of the nominees had come to Peking with not enough supplies and financial resources for a protracted stay in Peking. With no one to help them some of them had starved of starvation. The memorial does not say who were the people recommended in the 3th month. Possibly they were the 320 *juren* whose names on 9 May 1604, after the palace examination, were sent to the Ministry of Personnel for appointment to educational official (SZSL 395.3a, 113.7437; cf. Chen Zenghui, p. 178, note 24).

A confirmation of the hypothesis that Mr Zhang is Zhang Geng Verhaeren found in Zhang Geng's silence about his ancestry. The "adorers of the cross" had entered China with the Mongols and had been supporters of the Yuan dynasty. Since the Ming they were regarded as foreign and dangerous, especially since the last 60 years (1545-1605), after the siege of Peking by the Mongol leader Altan Khan in 1550. Most of them apostatised or camouflaged themselves as Jews, Mohammedans etc. Therefore, Zhang Geng had to be silent about his ancestry (Verhaeren, p. 221). Mr Zhang, however, in his conversation with Ricci did not hide at all his ancestry. Why should Mr Zhang (= Zhang Geng) have told only Ricci about it and afterwards became silent about it all the time? If Zhang Geng had to be silent about it towards Chinese people, he could have told it to missionaries (as Mr Zhang did to Ricci). But also the *Annual Letters*, written for a European public, do not contain any reference to it. In 1619, shortly before Zhang Geng's conversion, Longobardi and a Chinese Jesuit brother went to Honan to make further inquiries about ancient Christians. Quite disappointedly they returned to Hangzhou.²⁸ One and a half year later (spring of 1621) Zhang Geng arrived in Hangzhou and by the end of 1621 was converted by Aleni (who in 1613 made a trip to Kaifeng to make inquiries, among others, about the ancient Christians).²⁹ The report, however, about the conversion of Michael Zhang and his father Zhang Geng, found in the *Annual Letter* of 1621, does not mention that they were descendants of ancient Christians.³⁰ What would have been more wonderful, after all the unsuccessful attempts to come into contact with and to reconvert descendants of ancient Christians, than finally to

²⁸ In Henan they found "une grande confusion de loix [...] (Mohammedans, Jews). La troisieme fut celle des Chretiens qui sont surnommez de la Croix; mais ils n'ont point de credit, parce qu'ils ont assisté les Tartares contre les Chinois. [...] Ces chretiens au reste sont tellement obstinez aux erreurs où ils sont tombez par faute d'adresse, que les Chinois ne le sont point plus qu'eux. Tellement que nos Peres ayans pris beaucoup de peine pour leur instruction, & voyans qu'ils ne faisoient aucun fruit, ils s'en sont retournez à Ham Ceu" (LA 1619, Manuel Dias Sr, 9 Dec. 1619, pp. 60, 63-64).

(26) ²⁹ Dehergne 1957, p. 46.

³⁰ "Mais la conversion d'un ieune homme, que ie vay maintenant raconter, est encore plus merveilleuse: il n'est gueres aagé maintenant que de dix-sept ans, & est natif de la Province Fan-quiana; son pere se mesle des lettres, & il y a des-ja long temps qu'il est licentié. Ils s'estoient mis tous deux à lire quelques-uns de nos livres, & avoient pris plaisir d'entendre plusieurs chose de nostre sainte Foy, sans toutesfois penser à rien moins qu'à l'embrasser" (LA 1621, Trigault, 15 August 1622, pp. 90-91, cf. p. 93). See also LA 1622 (Semedo, 23 June 1623), speaking of Zhang Geng: "Nous avons encore en ceste ville (Hangzhou) un Licentié nommé Matthieu, lequel, quoy que Chrestien depuis peu, [...]" (p. 217). As for the books they read (LA 1621), the biography of Michael relates that he and his father read Ricci's *Tianzhu shiyi* in Pinghu (Zhejiang), where Zhang Geng was *jiaoyu* from 1613 until 1619, see Courant 1098, f. 1a.

have succeeded in it, as Verhaeren actually presents it.

It is hard to understand that Zhang Geng, if he really was of foreign descent, even after his conversion to a foreign religion, still went on to be silent about it. In 1629, shortly after his retirement, when he was assisting Aleni in his missionary work, he wrote *Yong Xia jie* (Explanation of "By use of China [to convert barbarians]").³¹ It clearly shows him at work as catechist of the missionaries. The following is a summary of this text:

In the first part of this text he gives a short introduction (ff. 1a-2a3) on the religion of the Lord of Heaven. Then, he asks his audience whether they want to meet its preachers. The audience asks from what place these preachers are. Zhang answers: "Europe." [The audience] asks: "Is that not the country of the western Barbarians?" Mr Zhang answers: "Indeed." The audience deliberates with each other and remarks: "Barbarians? When we recite the classical teachings, don't we all say: '[I have heard of] converting Barbarians by use of China, but never of being converted by Barbarians' (Mencius III.A, 4.12). How can you say that now we have to be converted by Barbarians?" Mr Zhang gives a great sigh and then says: "Don't you rightly regard Shun and Wen as your teachers? Shun was a eastern Barbarian (Mencius IV.B, 8.3) and Wen a western Barbarian (Mencius IV.B, 8.4), but Mencius of [the state of] Zou is embarrassed to be converted by Barbarians." Zhang Geng goes on to give other examples of Barbarians who were taken as teachers by Chinese, e.g. the viscount of Tan, whom Confucius interrogated upon the offices in his country.³² Finally he points out that designations like *yi* (Barbarian) and *xia* (Chinese) are forced. *Yi* means *ping* (level) and *yi* (change) and it does not necessarily have a bad meaning, or that the term *xia* is better than that of *yi*. "Nevertheless, we regard ourselves as the Centre (*zhong*) and them as the West. Whoever takes this as correct has been deluded. Within the six directions we occupy only one corner. We take them as the West, but there also are people who take them as the East. We take ourselves as the Centre,

³¹ See *Juejiao tongwen ji* (Courant 9254, 2 *juan*; preface by Yang Tingyun, 1615; incomplete copy of the supplemented edition of ca. 1628), *juan* 1 (73 prefaces or short texts), no. 72. The text is mentioned in the edict (1641) by Zuo Guangxian, magistrate of Jianning county (Fujian), in favour of Christianity, see Bernard 1945, p. 355 (no. 304).

³² *Zuozhuan* (Zhaogong 17): Confucius... "had an interview with the viscount of Tan, and learned from him. Afterwards he said to people, 'I have heard that, when the officers of the Son of Heaven are not properly arranged, we may learn from the wild tribes all round about. The remark seems to be true'." In order to justify their learning from the missionaries, Chinese quite often referred to this verse from *Zuozhuan*, e.g. Guo Zichang (1543-1618; *DMB* 775-777), see P. d'Elia, *Monumenta Serica* 20/1961, pp. 166-167; Xiong Mingyu and Xu Xuchen, see Xu Zongze 1949, pp. 283-284 and 294; Mei Wending (1633-1721; *ECCP* 570-571), see Chen Yuan 1980, p. 204. Fang Yizhi (1611-1671, *ECCP* 232-233) referred several times to his 'using the Far West as a Viscount of Tan', see W. J. Peterson, "Fang I-chih: Western Learning and the 'Investigation of Things'," in: Wm. Th. de Bary ed., *The Unfolding of Neo-Confucianism* (New York & London, 1975), p. 386 (pp. 369-411).

but there are also people who take us as the East and people who take us the West, as there are people who take us as the South or as the North." He then takes a globe and shows that it is impossible to designate any country as the centre. Zhang Geng continues: "Confucius accidentally was born in Qufu, but if he had been born in Chu and lived among Barbarians, one still would have regarded him as a saint (*sheng*)." Finally he advises his audience not to behave like those people who appreciated the pearl of Bian He, but doubted its genuineness because it was product of Chu.³³ So he recommends his audience to have look in books on the Lord of Heaven.

It is hard to see how Zhang Geng, who makes a plea to accept a foreign religion, would himself have been so reluctant to admit that he was of foreign descent and a descendant of the adorers of the Cross. In the biography of his son Michael Zhang Shi (*Zhang Shi*, Courant 1098) and in Zhang Geng's statements about his own conversion there is nothing that points to it. On the contrary, in his preface to the biography of Yang Tingyun he admits that when in 1621 he became a Christian he had been living for more than 50 years in darkness (he was born probably in 1569).³⁴ In his *Wurong chudi shizijia beixu* (1633, see below) he writes that initially he wanted to believe in the Lord of Heaven but not in his incarnation nor in the cross. It hard to see that this is the same man, who (according to Aleni) burst out in tears when Ricci showed him a cross.³⁵

³³ *Hanfeizi*, chapter 13; Watson 1984, p. 80.

(29) ³⁴ For both biographies and preface, see Courant 1016. According to D'Elia (*FR* II, p. 354 n. 2), Zhang Geng was born in 1585. Both the *LA* of 1638 and 1639, however, tell that he reached the age of 70 in those years (information provided by Linda de Lange, Leiden). For the moment I assume that in 1638 he had become 70 according to Chinese counting. Already Verhaeren (p. 223) assumed that he was born around 1570.

³⁵ In his list of Chinese who met Ricci, Lin Jinshui (1985, p. 137) mentions Mr Zhang (*sub* 1604) with the note "this is not Zhang Geng" (without further explanation). The sources for this entry are Aleni's biography of Ricci and a letter of D'Elia to Chen Zenghui (in the possession of Mr Chen Zenghui). In his article about Ai Tian (1949, p. 10, n. 33) Chen notes that Mr Zhang, who was introduced to Ricci by Ai Tian in 1605, is Zhang Geng, referring to Verhaeren's article. I have not consulted this letter, but I suppose that D'Elia in this letter gave arguments why Mr Zhang is not Zhang Geng. In his biographical note of Zhang Geng (*FR* II, pp. 354-355, n. 2) D'Elia does not mention the hypothesis of Verhaeren and has Zhang Geng met Ricci in 1607 (as does Lin Jinshui, 1985, p. 140).

(II) ZHANG GENG YU AND ZHANG GENG.

65 Ricci and his immediate successors did not really succeed in finding traces of Christianity in China,³⁶ at least not in reconverting ancient Christian communities to the Roman Catholic church (as the Jesuits did in India). The discovery of the Nestorian stele (781) in 1623 (Tianqi 3) in or near Xi'an was looked upon as providential by the missionaries and their converts. Here was the first clear proof that Christianity had been present in China long before the arrival of the Jesuits in the late 16th century. The discovery seems to have resulted in a sudden increase of conversions and to have made Christianity and the missionaries more acceptable to literati.³⁷

That this Christianity of Tang times (professed by mainly foreigners) was Nestorian and from the viewpoint of the Western church heterodox seems not to have been noticed then.³⁸ It might have been only Bartoli who quite honestly gave his opinion, although he characterizes his thoughts as simple conjectures because of the many unknown facts:

³⁶ It is, therefore, curious to read in *Tianxue chuangai* (1664, attributed to Li Zubai) that "according to Western historical sources the apostle Thomas preached in the Central Country (Zhongtu [China]). This "Central" refers to the area close to Zhongzhou (Henan province). The religion of the Cross (*shizi jiao gui*) was transmitted until late Ming times [...] and it was the religion left behind by Thomas" (ff. 4a8-4b1; WXXB 2:1061-1062). See also below, the last lines of note 76.

³⁷ For the increase of conversions, see Havret 1897, pp. 97-100. In a collection of 84 poems (arranged in chronological order) presented by 71 Fujian literati (including some seven converts and two persons who were staying in Fujian) to mainly Aleni in the period 1625-1638 (Courant 7066; WX, pp. 643-691), there are some nine authors who refer to this stele or quote from its inscription: Zhou Zhikui, also the author of a preface (1639) to the anti-Christian collection *Poxie ji* (p. 650), Ke Xianshi (p. 651, quotations), Lin Shuxue (p. 652), Lin Jun (p. 659: "digging the ground one found a stele of Tang times; in the Zhenguan period the Heavenly Teaching started"), Xue Duanguang (p. 665: "the Luminous Teaching is entirely similar to Confucianism; educated men will never make the charge that [its preachers] are foreigners"), Chen Yao (p. 672), the convert Su Fuying (p. 678), Wu Weixin (p. 688) and Chen Kan (p. 688).

³⁸ Verhaeren (1945, p. 222) assumed that for the same reason Zhang Geng remained silent about his foreign ancestry ("the adorers of the Cross" had been supporters of the Yuan dynasty) also the missionaries, after the discovery of the Xi'an stele, carefully avoided to associate the Luminous Religion of Tang times with "the adorers of the Cross" of Yuan times, as they both had the same origin: the Nestorian Church of the patriarchate of Seleukeia (Persia).

I could not even say for certain whether the Creed then preached and professed in that Kingdom was pure or infected by the heresies of the East, nor whether the Church of the Nestorians that Marco Polo found in his so famous Cambalù, was not a miserable rest of the general destruction and ruins of the other (Churches). And this doubt is not dispelled by saying that in the inscription on the stone there is not any inkling of heresy, for it does not tell how the two natures in Jesus Christ do not constitute two persons, and the Mother of God is only designated here as Virgin, which might well agree with Nestorius' heresy, which denies that she is the Mother of God.³⁹

66 It is not clear to me whether Bartoli merely gave his personal opinion or that he reproduced discussions found in letters and reports of China missionaries. After Bartoli the discussion about the heretical nature of the inscription continued. Havret entitled his book "La stèle chrétienne de Si-ngan-fou" and he is sometimes annoyed that others speak of the "Nestorian" monument. Saeki solved the problem by pointing out that since the discovery in 1895 of Nestorius' *Bazaar of Heraclides*, an autobiographical self-defence of his teachings⁴⁰ "the real heretical nature of what Nestorius himself taught has recently become very doubtful." The missionaries in late Ming China, however, did not distinguish between the teachings of Nestorius and that of Nestorianism. In Vagnone's "Life of Mary" (*Shengmu xingshi*, 1629), published only a few years after the discovery of the monument, we find the following story about Nestorius (always held in high esteem in the Nestorian Church):

During the Middle Antiquity there was in a Southwestern country a heretic called Nuo-si-duo-lüe (Nestorius). He turned his back to the holy teachings and privately preached heterodox theories, by which he seduced the good people. He went so far as to deny that the Holy Mother truly is the mother of the Lord of Heaven. Therefore, the pope and all saints and worthies of that time refuted him. Even the emperor of the West did not allow him to stay any longer in his territory and he threw him in the desert at the frontiers. Finally, he contracted an unusual and malignant disease. Moreover, his lips and tongue were covered with poisonous and malicious insects. He died while his four

³⁹ Bartoli (1663), p. 803 (quoted by Havret 1897, pp. 221-222). Cf. Covell (1986), p. 27: "No evidence appears, either in the tablet or in other Nestorian records, of the doctrine espoused by the Western church, but denied by the Nestorians, that Mary is the 'mother of God' and consequently worthy of worship."

⁴⁰ Saeki 1937, p. 46. For the question of the heretical nature of the teachings of Nestorius himself, cf. *The New Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. X (Washington, 1967), p. 348a (P. T. Camelot) and *LThK* 7.885 (R. Leys). See also Robert L. Wilken's articles about Nestorianism and Nestorius in *The Encyclopedia of Religion* (Mircea Eliade ed.), vol. 10 (1985), pp. 372b-373b and 373b-374a.

limbs were already rotting and stinking. Of the people who heard of his bad end, there was nobody who did not rejoice. They now realized that the Holy Mother acts as a compassionate mother to those who are good, but as a severe judge to those who are wicked.⁴¹

Manuel Dias Jr in the preface to his commentary (1641) of the inscription quotes Li Zhizao, according to whom the inscription contains the same teachings as preached by the missionaries (see below). In his commentary, however, to the sentence (11 characters) "An angel proclaimed the good news; a virgin gave birth to the sage in Ta-ch'in," he needs nearly six pages to explain it (1133 characters), introducing elements of the Roman Catholic teaching about Mary: the doctrine (since 1854 dogma) of her immaculate conception and her being the Mother of God.⁴² In a way, he confirms Bartoli's opinion that this sentence could be explained in a Nestorian way⁴³ or that at least something essential was missing. Despite all their enthusiasm about the discovery of a trace of Christianity in China, the missionaries refrained from using the text of, or terminology from, the inscription in their own preaching. As such this does not surprise, as the inscription "speaks about salvation in very general

⁴¹ *Shengmu xingshi*, j. 3, f. 62a of the reprint (Canton, 1680; copy at Vatican Library; WXS 3.1543. Li Jiugong reproduced this story in the section *e ji* (malignant diseases) of his collection *Lixiu yijian* (1639, 1645; Courant 6878), j. 2, f. 63b (the first of the two stories in this section deals with Arius, ff. 62b-63b). For this collection, see Zürcher 1985.

⁴² See Moule, p. 36 and the commentary of Dias (ff. 23a-25b; WXS 2.697-702). For the immaculate conception of Mary, see also pp. 690-691. Mary's divine motherhood was well understood by another son of Zhang Geng, Dionysius Zhang Jiu (baptized in Hangzhou on 9 October 1621 at the age of five *sui*, who died in Yuanwu on 7 April 1623 "in the odour of sanctity," see the life of Dionysius written by Zhang Geng in 1630, Courant 1016 IX, 3 folios): "L'on raconte une belle parole de cet enfant qui passe bien son aage: car comme un iour l'on parloit devant luy des choses de Dieu, cet enfant se mit serieusement à prononcer ces paroles sur le propos qui se tenoit: Le Seigneur du Ciel a crée sa Mere, & la Mere a enfanté le Seigneur du Ciel" (LA 1621, p. 93/94). Virtually the same story is found in *Kouduo richao*, j. 1, f. 6 (25 April 1630): "One day in front of the church Yang Jingzhao (Tingyun) asked him: 'Who gave birth to the Lord of Heaven?' He answered: 'The Holy Mother.' (Yang asked:) 'And who gave birth to the Holy Mother?' He answered: 'The Lord of Heaven.' "

⁴³ According to Pelliot "cette inscription n'est pas spécifiquement entachée de nestorianisme, pas plus qu'elle n'exclut la possibilité d'une lecture nestorienne", see Dauvillier (1984), p. 15. Cf. Covell (1986), p. 27 and p. 255 (n. 13); R. Suter, "The Words *san i fên shên* in the Inscription on the Nestorian Monument at Hsi-an fu," in: *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 58 (1938), pp. 384-393.

terms and always couched in popular Buddhist and Taoist expressions.⁴⁴ Only for a few decennia churches were called "hall of the Luminous Teaching" (*Jingjiao tang*) and converts signed as "disciple of the Luminous Teaching" (*Jingjiao houxue*).

After the discovery of the monument (probably in 1623) the Christian scholar Li Zhizao (1565-1630) was the first who fully realized that the inscription contained a Christian text. He got a copy of the inscription from Zhang Gengyu and had it published immediately with a postface, in which he identified it as a Christian text. Li begins his postface like this:⁴⁵

When I lived in retirement⁴⁶ in the countryside of Lingzhu (near Hangzhou) my friend of Qiyang (county in Fengxiang prefecture, Shenxi), Zhang Gengyu [*Qiyang tongzhi Zhang Gengyu*], was so kind to send me a rubbing from a stele of Tang times. He wrote: "It was found recently, when one was digging the ground in Chang'an (Xi'an) and is entitled *Jingjiao liuxing Zhongguo song*. I have never heard of this doctrine before. Could it be identical with the Studies of Heaven [*tianxue*] that Li Xitai (Matteo Ricci) transmitted?" As soon as I read [the inscription], it appeared indeed to be the case.

Zhang Gengyu is not known from historical sources. The question whether Gengyu was his name (*ming*) or appellation (*zi*, *hao*), is difficult to solve.⁴⁷ Apart from names of people mentioned in the inscription itself, the other names that occur in Li's postface are those of Li Xitai (Xitai is the *zi* of Ricci) and Qu Taisu (Taisu is the *zi* or *hao* of Qu Rukui). The name of Li Xitai is part of the quotation of Zhang's letter, and Qu Rukui is always mentioned as Qu Taisu in Christian sources. This makes it hard to conclude that Gengyu is also a *zi*. Manuel Dias, in his preface of 1641, virtually repeats the information given by Li

⁴⁴ Covell, p. 29. In the *Annual Letter* of 1625 (March 1, 1626) Manuel Dias Sr writes to the General of the Jesuits not to be able to present him with a full translation of the inscription, because "elle étoit composée en vers Chinois, plusieurs lettres equivoques y étans entrelassées, avec divers termes de paganisme tres-obscurs & embrouillez, outre les metaphores & allusions dont elle étoit parsemée" (p. 187). The only example of a text that made use of terminology from the inscription is, to my knowledge, Schall's *Tianzhu zhengdao jielüe* (1640), see the following article, note 83.

⁴⁵ *Du Jingjiao bei shu hou*, 12 June 1625; TXCH 1.77.

⁴⁶ Since (the summer of) 1623, see his preface (1628) to *Huanyou quan* (Xu 1949, p. 197, 199); cf. Liang Jiamian 1981, p. 149, 155 (n. 14).

⁴⁷ Gengyu is found as *zi*, used by two persons of Qing times (Morohashi 36819.4).

Zhizao. He probably took Gengyu as a personal name.⁴⁸

The arguments that Verhaeren gives for the identification of Zhang Gengyu with Zhang Geng are surprising. He quotes the first sentence of Li Zhizao's postface ("Je vivais retiré à la campagne près de Hang-tchow, quand *Tchang Keng-yu*, mon collègue de *K'i-yang*, m'envoya une copie d'un stèle des T'ang") and concludes: "Keng-yu, nous l'avons dit plus haut, est un des prénoms de Tchang Keng. Le Dr. Léon l'appelle «mon collègue de K'i-yang». Il a donc quitté le Honan, où nous l'avons laissé à la mort de son fils, le 5 août 1623, pour revenir dans la province du Chensi" (p. 272). The source for the statement that Gengyu is one of the names of Zhang Geng is the index of Pfister's book.⁴⁹ Pfister, however, did not give the name Gengyu, which is only found in the index (*sub* Tchang Keng). This index was composed by someone else, who for this entry must have based himself on Havret.⁵⁰ In 17th century Chinese sources Zhang Geng is never mentioned as having the name Gengyu (*ming*, *zi* or *hao*).

Another argument on which Verhaeren relied is the following. The expression *tongzhi*, "collègue," had in contemporary Christian literature the specific meaning of "adepte de la même religion." Li Zhizao would not have used it, if Zhang Gengyu had not been a Christian. Verhaeren is surprised that, despite this use of *tongzhi* and all that is known about Zhang Geng (baptized in 1621), most authors agree that Zhang Gengyu was not a Christian (p. 272). The authors to whom Verhaeren refers are Semedo, Bartoli, Dias Sr., Havret, Moule etc. (pp. 272-273). Besides the fact that Verhaeren goes against all 17th century sources (as he admits), his interpretation of *tongzhi* as meaning in this context "fellow

⁴⁸ "Mr Zhang Gengyu of Qiyang [Qiyang Zhang *gong* Gengyu] made a rubbing of it. Having read it he jumped up for joy and immediately sent it to his friend Mr Wocun Li Zhizao [*tongzhi* Wocun Li *gong* Zhizao], saying: '... Is this possibly the same as the Western Studies [*xixue*]?' After having examined the text, it appeared to be the same. Mr. Li enthusiastically said: 'From now on Chinese scholars cannot blame any longer the Holy Teaching for having come so late!' " (Xu Zongze 1949, p. 231). See also further on in the preface: Xuanhu Xu *gong* Guangqi. Notice that Dias' preface was not reproduced in the 1878 edition (WXXB).

⁴⁹ Pfister 1932, p. 1093 (see Verhaeren p. 220 n. 6, reproduced above, after note 13), which refers to the pages 133 (no. 11), 193 (no. 2) and 311 (no. 11). The name Gengyu is not found there nor in the *Addenda* to the book *sub* p. 133 no. 11.

⁵⁰ See "Bibliographie," p. 999: the three volumes of Havret (1895, 1897 and 1901) are preceded by an asterisk and thus were not mentioned by Pfister (1833-1891, who worked on this book until 1886) in his "Liste des principaux ouvrages consultés" (see p. 994). Cf. the "Introduction" (1932, by the editors), pp. XIX-XX.

Christian" is forced. Although fellow-Christians are referred to as *tongzhi* (one also finds *tongjiao zhe* or *jiaoyou*),⁵¹ there is no reason Li Zhizao could not have referred to Zhang as *tongzhi*, even if Zhang was not a Christian. The fact that he (according to Manuel Dias Jr, see note 48) showed some excitement, when he read the inscription, and sent the rubbing to Li Zhizao, does not necessarily imply that he was a Christian. That he refers to Christianity as the "Studies of Heaven" [*tianxue*] (or "Western Studies" [*xixue*] according to Dias) preached by Ricci, who died already 15 years before, strongly suggests that he was not a Christian. Would a Christian not have spoken, as Li Zhizao did (in the words of Dias), of the "Holy Teachings" (*shengjiao*)⁵² instead of the teachings of Ricci? And would Zhang Gengyu, if he is Zhang Geng, instead of to Ricci not have referred to Aleni and Yang Tingyun, who, as he writes himself, introduced him to the Christian teachings?

In 1626 Manuel Dias Sr, however, does not speak of a convert, but of a judge and friend of Li Zhizao's, from whom he had received some explanation of the Christian teachings.⁵³ Alvaro Semedo in his *Imperio de la China* (1642) explicitly speaks of "a heathen and friend of an important Christian official called Leo."⁵⁴ According to Bartoli (1663), who explicitly refers to an account by Li Zhizao himself, the man who sent a copy of the inscription to Hangzhou was a *juren* ("un solo del secondo ordine de'Letterati, che

⁵¹ WXXB 2.753 (see below, after note 74) and p. 754.

⁵² In the 1878 reprint of Manuel Dias' commentary (*Jingjiao liuxing Zhongguo zhengquan*, 1644), in which the postface by Li Zhizao was inserted (absent in the 1644 edition), *tianxue* is replaced by *shengjiao*. So Havret has Zhang Gengyu (whom he does not regard as a Christian) speak of "la Sainte Religion" (p. 38, p. 409); cf. Dunne, p. 194 ("holy religion"). This might induce one to think (although Havret did not) that a Christian is speaking here. Verhaeren used the 1927 reprint of the 1878 T'ou-se-we edition (p. 272, n. 25), but did not quote this part of Zhang Gengyu's letter. Notice that Saeki in his *Nestorian monument* (1916) took Zhang Gengyu as a Christian, but changed of opinion in his subsequent *Nestorian documents and relics* (1937), see Verhaeren 1945, p. 273.

⁵³ LA 1625 (1 March 1626), "De plus, icy l'on a découvert une inscription ancienne, gravée sur de la pierre, par laquelle il conste évidemment, que les Predicateurs du saint Evangile avoient ja penetrez iusques à la Chine; ce qui nous fait pronostiquer & esperer des fruits extraordinaires, si les choses prennent un bon plis. Un Juge tres étroit amy du Docteur Leon en avant eu connoissance, se figurant que cette loy étoit la même, que celle qu'il luy avoit quelquefois déclarée, luy envoya une copie écrite mot pour mot comme elle étoit précisément couchée sur la pierre" (p. 186; cf. Havret 1897, p. 58). Also Verhaeren seems to refer to Dias: "Même affirmation chez Em. Diaz senior: «Parmi eux (les payens) il s'en trouva un ... » (Havret, ib. [p. 37] ainsi que chez Ant. de Gouvea et Dunyn Szpot. (ib. 76)" (1945, p. 273, quoting a report in Latin, composed by P. van Meurs, Archivist of ARSI in ca. 1875 and based on de Gouvea and Dunyn-Szpot; cf. Havret, p. 76; cf. p. 70).

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⁵⁴ See Havret 1897, p. 39 (translating p. 200).

colà chiamano Chiugin"). Nearly 18 years before in Peking he had become a friend of Ricci's. From him he had received a few hours of explanation of the Christian doctrine. Still remembering it, he was convinced that the inscription dealt with the same doctrine and so he sent a copy of it to his old friend Li Zhizao, whom he knew was a Christian.⁵⁵

These three Western sources (Dias Sr, Semedo and Bartoli) all agree that "Zhang Gengyu" was a friend of Li Zhizao's and not a Christian himself. They differ in the explanation of the reason he was able to infer that the stele contained a Christian text. Semedo gives no reason at all. Dias Sr says that he had received some instruction about Christianity from Li Zhizao, while Bartoli states that he was a *juren*, who nearly 18 years before had received some information about the Christian teachings from Ricci. As the stele, according to Bartoli (and all preserved contemporary Western sources), was discovered in 1625 (a few months before the Jesuits opened a mission in Shenxi),⁵⁶ the *juren* Zhang Gengyu must have met Ricci in 1607, probably around the time of the *jinshi* examinations (3rd month).

The reason Verhaeren does not take these sources seriously (p. 274: "ce paganisme prétendu de Tchang Keng") is again surprising. Only a Christian could have recognized the inscription as a Christian text. The argument of others that Zhang Gengyu could recognize it, because he got some instruction in the Christian teaching from Ricci 18 years earlier (Bartoli) is not valid. The only *juren* surnamed Zhang who met Ricci is Mr Zhang (in July 1605). Ricci himself complained that Zhang was too busy and only stayed for six days in Peking after their meeting and that there was no time to instruct him in the Christian religion. Those who point to the possibility that he received his instruction from Li Zhizao then, are mistaken, as from 1603 until 1608 Li was not in Peking. It should be noticed, however, that Manuel Dias Sr. did not say that Zhang Gengyu received his instruction from Li Zhizao in 1607. Verhaeren concludes (p. 274):

Dans notre hypothèse tout s'explique naturellement. Tchang Keng nous apparaît comme l'homme choisi entre mille pour faire connaître au monde le monument de Singan fou. Lettré, chrétien de la Croix et catholique, il n'hésite pas sur le sens de la

⁵⁵ Bartoli (1663), p. 795 (quoted by Havret 1897, p. 37). Dunyn-Szpot (*Historia Sinarum* I, 1, no. VI) gives nearly the same version, but does not speak about "nearly 18 years before" and has Zhang have frequent conversations with Ricci.

⁵⁶ "Hor in questa Provincia di Scensi, e in questa sua maestosa Metropoli Sigàn, si apparecchiavano i Padri a portar la luce dell'Evangelio, quando, pochi mesi innanzi al lor giungervi" (Bartoli 1663, p. 794; cf. Havret 1897, p. 34; Moule 1930, p. 28, n. 2). The Shenxi mission started with the arrival of Trigault there in April 1625; cf. Dehergne 1957, p. 111; Margiotti 1958, p. 88.

stèle; il exulte, comme dit le P. Diaz dans la préface de son édition, et s'empresse de faire part de sa découverte à Ly Dje-tsao et par lui aux Pères de Hang-tchow. Durant son séjour dans cette ville, en 1621-22, il a pu faire ample connaissance avec le Dr. Léon, qu'il a dû rencontrer dans la maison de Yang T'ing-yun son parent; il sait leur zèle pour la défense de la foi et est heureux de leur fournir cette nouvelle arme contre les objections des lettrés payens.

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Before continuing, it is necessary to have a look at a few facts that are known about Zhang Geng's life. He was *jiaoyu* of Pinghu county in Jiaking prefecture (Zhejiang, halfway Hangzhou and Shanghai) from 1613 until 1619, when he had to leave because one of his parents died.⁵⁷ In the spring of 1621 (22.1-20.5) he went to Hangzhou.⁵⁸ The following spring (10.2-9.5 1622) he left Hangzhou to take up a new post in Yuanwu county (Kaifeng prefecture).⁵⁹ On 5 August 1623 his son Zhang Shi (Michael) died in Yuanwu. In October 1623 Trigault arrived in Kaifeng, where he stayed for about 4 months, during which time he visited Zhang Geng in Yuanwu.⁶⁰ In February or March 1624 Trigault arrived in

⁵⁷ *Pinghu xianzhi* (edition of 1886; Zhongguo fangzhi congshu, Huazhong difang 189; Taipei 1974) 10.8a (p. 969), 12.7b (p. 1128). The very laudatory notice about Zhang Geng is already found in a late Ming edition of *Pinghu xianzhi* (prefaces of 1627), 13.12a (*Tianyi ge Mingdai fangzhi xuan kan xubian*, vol. 27, p. 769).

⁵⁸ The reason Zhang Geng went to Hangzhou is not clear. According to his postface to the biography of Yang Tingyun (Courant 1016 V), he was studying there in the spring of 1621 during a leave-off (cf. Li Jiugong, *Lixiu yijian*, 2.30b). His son Michael Zhang Shi in a report on a vision he had in Hangzhou on 5 August 1621, entitled *Tianzhu hong'en xu*, dated 21 September 1621 (Courant 1098, ff. 9b-11b and Courant 7188 II), writes that he followed his father in the spring of that year to the Nangong (Southern Palace) examination and they rested in Hangzhou (f. 9b9). The Nangong examination refers to the metropolitan examination, *huishi*, held by the Ministry of Rites, during the Song commonly called Nangong (Hucker 4104), that was to be held the next spring (1622) in Peking. Also according to the biography of Michael Zhang (Courant 1098, f. 1a) Zhang Geng was going to attend the Nangong (examination). Only the biography of Aleni (*Siji Ai xiansheng xingji*, Courant 1016 II), written by converts who must have known Zhang Geng well (Li Sixuan, first draft by Li Jiugong) says that he was in charge of a school in Hangzhou (*zhangjiao Hang xiang*, f. 4a; cf. above, note 18). In view of the just quoted statements, besides the question of the period of mourning he had to observe, one may doubt that he was an official in Hangzhou. According to the *Annual Letter* of 1622 (which mistakenly calls him a *jinshi*), "le Docteur Matthieu passant de la Province de Foquin en celle de Honan, de laquelle il avoit esté faict Mandarin, se trouva aussi là" (p. 185).

⁵⁹ Aleni's Ricci biography says that Zhang Geng "supervised education in Zhongzhou (Henan)" (see above, after note 12), which refers to the office of *jiaoyu*. The biography of Michael Zhang says that he filled the vacancy of Yuanwu, i.e. became magistrate (cf. Joseph Siao, *Tianzhujiao chuanxing Zhongguo*, Xianxian, 1926, p. 173). The *LA* of 1622 calls him "mandarin" and that of 1624 "gouverneur" (see note 60). I did not find the name of Zhang Geng in *Kaifeng fuzhi* (*sub* Yuanwu).

⁶⁰ See *LA* 1624 (*Histoire de la Chine* ...), speaking of Trigault's stay in Kaifeng: "Cete mission a reüssi selon nostre desir, puis que ... , & que de là on s'est ouvert le chemin pour passer en une

Shanxi.⁶¹ The *Annual Letter* of 1624 shows that Trigault first stayed some time in Kaifeng before going to Yuanwu (see note 60). So his meeting with Zhang Geng must have taken place late in 1623 or even early in 1624. In 1625 (Tianqi 5, from 7 February on) Zhang Geng became magistrate of Lianshan county in Guangdong, probably at the beginning of that year, as in 1624 (Tianqi 4, until 6 February 1625) his predecessor left.⁶² In 1629 (Chongzhen 2) his successor is appointed. This agrees with Zhang Geng's own statement that he retired in 1629.

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In order to prove that Zhang Gengyu, the friend of Li Zhizao, could not have been someone who only received some information about Christianity from Li Zhizao, Verhaeren points out that Zhang Geng (Zhang Gengyu) during his stay in Hangzhou had ample opportunity to get to know Li Zhizao well. Li, however, was appointed to Director of Waterways and Dikes on 28 May 1621 and stayed in Peking already in April.⁶³ Zhang Geng arrived in Hangzhou in the spring (22.1-20.5). There can hardly have been a long time to know each other well. As it is not known when in the spring Zhang Geng came to Hangzhou, they even might have never met each other. There is also not a single source which points to a friendship between Zhang Geng and Li Zhizao.⁶⁴ His relationship with Yang Tingyun and Aleni, however, is well-known. The Zhangs in Yuanwu wrote letters to Aleni in Hangzhou (two letters of Michael to Aleni are preserved) and received letters from there (anyway from Trigault). Michael writes to Aleni that he had heard that Yang Tingyun (first letter, late

autre ville distante d'une journée, en laquelle Ciàm Matheo licentié est établi pour gouverneur. Toute sa famille se confessa au Pere ..." (pp. 77-78).

⁶¹ Margiotti 1958, p. 88. The time of his arrival in Kaifeng is confirmed by a letter of Trigault to the Zhang family in Yuanwu that they received in the 6th month of 1623 (28.6-26.7). He wrote that he would leave Hangzhou for Kaifeng in the 8th month (26.8-23.9). See the biography of Michael Zhang (Courant 1098), f. 6b.

⁶² *Lianshan Suiyao ting zhi* (1837 edition), j. 6. Zhang is mentioned in *Guangdong tongzhi* (1822 edition). He was appointed in Tianqi 5 and his successor in Chongzhen 2 (23.46b). The latter date accords with Zhang's statement in his *Wurong chudi shizijia beixu* (translated below).

⁶³ For the date of Li's appointment (Tianqi 1, IV, *jimao*), see *Xizong shilu* 9.13b (125.0444); cf. Liang Jiamian 1981, p. 138: anyway since the 5th month (20.6-19.7); cf. *ECCP*, p. 453b. According to the *LA* of 1621, Li Zhizao was in Peking at the time two big fires raged in Hangzhou, viz. on 23 April and 15 August (cf. preceding article, after note 75; 1993, p. 118).

⁶⁴ He only mentions Li Zhizao in his postface (1635, 7th month) to *Daiyi xubian* (Courant 7111), a posthumous work by Yang Tingyun: Li Zhexi (Li Zhizao) and Wang Shenxi (Wang Zheng) wrote prefaces for Yang's *Daiyi bian* (1621).

1622),⁶⁵ Trigault and Longobardo (second letter, summer 1623) might come to Daliang (circuit: Kaifeng and Guide prefectures). Apparently the Zhangs in Yuanwu got news by letter from Hangzhou. Trigault visited Zhang Geng in Yuanwu. In this respect one wonders why Zhang Gengyu, if he is Zhang Geng, did not send the rubbing (early in 1625) to Aleni (in Hangzhou from December 1624 until April 1625) or to Yang Tingyun (in Peking from May 1623 until April 1625) or to Trigault (in Shanxi and since April 1625 in Sanyuan, northeast of Xi'an) instead of to Li Zhizao, whom he hardly seems to have known.

Zhang Gengyu was a native of Qiyang (old name for Qishan county in Fengxiang Prefecture). I could not find his name in the list of *juren* in *Fengxiang fuzhi* and in *Qishan xianzhi*. The only Zhang from Qiyang, who was a *juren* before 1607, is Zhang Yuan, who got his degree in 1528 and must already have died before 1625. As Bartoli does not explicitly say that Zhang Gengyu was already a *juren* when he met Ricci or that he was in Peking for the *jinshi* examinations (1607), he might later have become a *juren*. There are three *juren* from Qiyang who got their degree between 1607 and 1625. Two of them became *jinshi* before 1625 (Zhang Fakong, *juren* 1609, *jinshi* 1610, and Zhang Jimeng, *juren* 1615, *jinshi* 1619). The third, who did not become a *jinshi*, is Zhang Guozhi, who got his degree in 1624 (October). He became county magistrate of Huojia (Henan) in the early Chongzhen period (1628-1644). The short biography of him in *Fengxiang fuzhi* does not give his *zi*, so it is not possible to identify him as Zhang Gengyu.⁶⁶ Pelliot also did not succeed in identifying the *juren* Zhang Gengyu.⁶⁷

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⁶⁵ Yang was appointed surveillance commissioner of Daliang circuit (Kaifeng and Guide Prefectures) on 25 July 1622 (Standaert 1988, p. 16). Michael had hoped that Aleni would have accompanied Yang on his journey to Daliang and visit him in Yuanwu (so that he could make his confession). He was greatly disappointed, when he heard the news that the appointment was changed and Yang had to go to Chu (Huguang province, cf. *LA* 1622 and Standaert 1988, p. 80, n. 29). After having been "Taoly in Provincia Huquam" for three months Yang was appointed to a higher office in Peking, see *LA* 1623, ff. 117v-118r (Portuguese) and f. 398r/v (Latin). As Yang Tingyun was called to Peking in May 1623, Michael Zhang must have written his letter in late 1622 or maybe even very early in 1623.

⁶⁶ *Fengxiang fuzhi*, 1766 edition (Zhongguo fangzhi congshu, Huabei difang 292, Taipei, 1970), 7.52a. Cf. *Qishan xian xiangtu zhi*, edition of early 20th century (Zhongguo fangzhi congshu, Huabei difang 252, Taipei 1969).

(60) — ⁶⁷ According to Dauvillier (1984, p. 9) Pelliot could not identify Zhang Gengyu, whom he did not regard as a Christian and must have written his letter to Li in the spring of 1625. That Pelliot did not find a *juren* with the name Gengyu is in contradiction with the statement (by Pelliot or

As Zhang Gengyu came from Qiyang, Verhaeren assumed that Zhang Geng (Zhang Gengyu), official in Yuanwu since early 1622, meanwhile had been transferred to Qiyang. Verhaeren could not say how long Zhang Geng stayed in Qiyang and what kind of office he had there. As Trigault visited him in the autumn of 1623, Zhang must have left Yuanwu in the same autumn. On his way to his new post in Qiyang he must have seen the monument in Xi'an. Verhaeren had already identified Zhang Geng (Zhang Gengyu) with Mr Zhang who met Ricci in July 1605. According to Bartoli, Zhang Gengyu saw the monument "nearly 18 years" after his meeting with Ricci (see above). As the stele, according to Bartoli (and all preserved contemporary Western sources), was discovered in early 1625, one concluded that the *juren* Zhang Gengyu met Ricci in early 1607 (nearly 18 years before), probably at the time of the *jinshi* examinations (see above). Verhaeren suggests that Zhang Gengyu (Zhang Geng, Mr Zhang) saw the monument in the spring of 1623 (nearly 18 years after July 1605). He did not realize that this is about half a year before the autumn of 1623, when (according to Verhaeren, see above) Zhang was transferred to Qiyang.⁶⁸ He rightly said that most likely 1625 (Western sources) is not the year in which the monument was discovered, but Tianqi 3 (1623), as given by Manuel Diaz in the preface (1641) of his *Jingjiao liuxing Zhongguo beisong zhengquan*.⁶⁹ Verhaeren thought to have found in Bartoli a confirmation of his identification of Zhang Gengyu (Zhang Geng) with Mr Zhang by assuming that Bartoli

Dauvillier): "La notice de Tchang Keng-yu, rédigée en 1633 ou 1634 pour les croix du Fou-kien ..." (p. 11), which refers to *Wurong chudi shizijia beixu* by Zhang Geng (see below).

⁶⁸ Zhang Geng was *jiaoyu* (or county magistrate) of Yuanwu since 1622 and became magistrate of Lianshan county in 1625. So he should have become *jiaoyu* or *zhixian* of Qiyang in 1623 or 1624. However, no official with the surname Zhang was appointed to one of these posts in Qishan around that time, see *Fengxiang fuzhi*, 5.58b (*zhixian*: appointments in 1621, 1624 and 1627), f. 61a (*jiaoyu*: 1623 and 1626). The argument that Zhang Geng (Zhang Gengyu) is not mentioned (*sub* Qishan) in *Fengxiang fuzhi* and so never has been an official there, seems to be weak, as Zhang Geng is also not mentioned (*sub* Yuanwu) in *Kaifeng fuzhi* (1695 edition by Zhang Mu). His presence in Yuanwu as an official is, however, amply testified by Chinese Christian sources, see the biography of Michael (Courant 1098), f. 5b1 (Daliang Yuanwu), 6b2, 6b4 (Daliang), 6b7 (Zhongzhou), 6b8, 9a4 (Yuanwu), his two letters to Aleni (Courant 1098), f. 12a3 (Yuanling = Yuanwu), 13a1, 13b2, (Daliang) and Li Jiugong's *Lixiu yijian*, 2.32b3, 53b3 (Daliang).

⁶⁹ Verhaeren also refers to *Kouduo richao* j. 7, f. 19a (Aleni, 10 June 1637). Other sources which give 1623 are: Xu Guangqi, *Jingjiao tang beiji* (ca. 1632) in *Xichao Chongzhen ji* (1639; Courant 1322), 1.11b (cf. *XGQJ*, pp. 531, 639-640); legenda of the picture of the cross on top of the Nestorian stele, in *Xichao Chongzhen ji*, j. 1, after f. 13b (see below, p. 307); Zhang Geng, *Wurong chudi shizijia beixu* (1633) in *Xichao Chongzhen ji*, 1.15a (see below, p. 310); Li Jiugong, *Lixiu yijian* (1639), 2.9a; Li Jiugong, *Shensi lu* (1681), 1.12a (Courant 7227); for the last two examples, see below (note 76).

73 (who took 1625 as the year of discovery of the monument) found the information "nearly 18 years before" in a source, in which 1623 is the year of discovery. He overlooked, however, the fact that Zhang Gengyu must have sent his letter to Li Zhizao early in 1625, as Li immediately has the text of the inscription published with a postface (June 1625). According to Manuel Dias (preface of 1641), Zhang Gengyu sent his letter shortly after he saw the monument.⁷⁰ As it is likely that Zhang Gengyu saw the monument (found in 1623) early in 1625 (or even late in 1624), then he met Ricci in 1607 (nearly 18 years before) and not in July 1605. Then also this particular argument for the identification of Zhang Gengyu with Mr Zhang is no longer valid either.

The biography of Zhang Geng that Verhaeren gives, has already been adjusted to his suppositions: *jiaoyu* in Shenxi in 1605 (Mr Zhang) and official in Qiyang in 1623 (Zhang Gengyu, a native of Qiyang), for both of which statements there is not a single source. As for his supposed stay in Qiyang, it is very doubtful that Zhang Geng, who arrived in Yuanwu in the (Chinese) spring of 1622 and became magistrate of Lianshan county early in 1625, was transferred (to Qiyang) already late in 1623 or early in 1624 and so in the course of some three years occupied three offices.

⁷⁰ "Il n'est nullement invraisemblable que deux ans se soient écoulés avant qu'un heureux hasard fit connaître l'inscription à Tchang Keng-yu," see Dauvillier 1984, p. 11.

(III) ZHANG GENG

73 *medio* There still remains the "historical" Zhang Geng who discovered a stone with a cross in Quanzhou in 1638. With two other crosses this cross was reproduced, with a short legenda, in *Jingjiao liuxing Zhongguo beisong zhengquan* (Dias Jr, Hangzhou 1644) after the text of the Xi'an stele of Tang times to illustrate that the Luminous Teaching had then spread all over China (from Shenxi to Fujian).⁷¹ According to Dias (p. 655), these three crosses were placed in the church of Wenling (Quanzhou). As pointed out by Verhaeren (p. 280), a note by Zhang Geng was put after one of these crosses to explain that meanwhile—Dias had left Fujian—it had been placed in the church at Taoyuan (or Yongchun, northwest of Quanzhou):

This old stone with the holy Cross had been lying at Dongjiao pan (Eastern suburb) in Wenling (Quanzhou) for an unknown number of years. No passerby had seen it. In the spring of Chongzhen *wuyin* (14 Feb. - 13 May 1638), since I was moved by feelings [of melancholy] and the Lord [on High] in his heart (*di xin*) examined them, [He] showed it [to me] and local friends got it. Then I begged the priest to set it up in the church at Taoyuan.

Recorded by Zhang Geng.⁷²

⁷¹ Commentary of Dias to *liuxing Zhongguo* ("spread all over China") in the title of the Xi'an inscription (f. 2a; WXXB 2:655).

⁷² WXXB 2:752. The 1878 editions read *zhu xin* (for *di xin*), followed by a punctuation mark: *yin yu xinghuai zhu xin, jiang zhaoshi, junpeng huo zhi*. The original edition (1644) reads: *yin yu xinghuai, di xin jiang zhaoshi*..., see Verhaeren 1945, p. 279 (cf. Courant 1190). Based on the 1878 edition, Havret translates: "tout entier à la pensée de Dieu, et conduit par sa inspiration, je la découvris avec des amis de la Préfecture." Cf. Moule 1930, p. 79: "since my devotion to the mind of God was aroused, taught and enlightened [by Him, I and my] local friends found it." Cf. Verhaeren, p. 279: "parce que je le désirais avec ferveur, et que Chang-ti intérieurement l'inspira et l'éclaira, un ami de la ville en fit l'acquisition." My tentative translation follows the original punctuation (as does Verhaeren) and is based on *Lunyu* 20.1,3 (*jian zai di xin*): "The examination of them is by thy mind, O God" (Legge, *Confucian Analects*, p. 350); "The decision is in your heart, O God" (A. Waley transl., *The Analects of Confucius*, London, 1938, p. 231). I take *xinghuai* as "melancholy caused by doubts": one has to believe without signs and proofs, but God grants them to comfort people who have doubts (cf. Zhang Geng's inscription of 1633, see below).

74 In the 1878 (T'ou-se-we) edition that circulated widely, this note comes after the reproduction of the cross, found in 1619 in the Western Hills (Wurong Hills) of the neighbouring Nan'an county in Quanzhou prefecture. Zhang Geng's note about the cross, found in 1638, does not fit with the legenda of the cross, found in 1619 (rubbing made in 1638), which authors like Havret, Moule and Saeki did not notice. While Zhang Geng wrote that this stone had been lying there for an unknown number of years, Havret (p. 96, n. 2) said that it had been found in 1619 (as the legenda says), but that until 1638 nobody had realized that it was a Christian relic. As pointed out by Verhaeren, in the original edition of 1644 (and some later editions)⁷³ the note by Zhang Geng comes after the reproduction of the second cross that was found near the former Dongchan monastery. The legenda (p. 753) reads:

At the city of Quanzhou Prefecture in Min (Fujian), three odd *li* outside the Renfeng Gate, on the shore of the East Lake (Donghu pan) there used to be the Dongchan monastery. The *Monography of the Commandery* says: "In the period Qianfu (874-879) of the Tang, people of the commandery built a retreat

⁷³ The 1878 reprint (Shanghai, T'ou-se-we) of this text (*Tang Jingjiao beisong zhengquan*), reproduced in WXXB (2.653-754), shows the following differences with the 1644 edition (Courant 1190):

– the title-page, the reproduction of the cross on top of the monument (1 folio), the preface by Dias (3 ff.) and the text of the inscription (ff. 1-8) are not reproduced.

– the two folios (ff. 9-10) with reproductions of the three Fujian crosses and the note by Zhang Geng that precede the partial explanation of the inscription (49 ff.) are placed at the end of the book (pp. 751-754) after the explanation (49 ff., pp. 653-750).

– the note by Zhang Geng (p. 752) has erroneously been placed after the cross discovered in 1619 (p. 751) instead of after the cross discovered on 7 April 1638 (p. 753).

The order in the 1644 edition (Hangzhou), in the 1754 edition (Peking, Nantang) and in another 1878 edition (Shanghai, Cimu tang; copy at Sinological Institute, Leiden) is:

– (f. 9a)	cross found in 1619	(p. 751);
– (f. 9b)	cross found in March 1638	(p. 754);
– (f. 10a)	cross found in April 1638	(p. 753);
– (f. 10b)	note by Zhang Geng	(p. 752).

The error might have been caused by a mistake made by Dias in his commentary (p. 655) who said that one cross was found (not unearthed) near Quanzhou (city) and two unearthed in Quanzhou (city). In fact, the crosses in Quanzhou (1638) were not unearthed but found (one by Zhang Geng), and only the cross in Nan'an near Quanzhou was unearthed (1619). So Dias might already have confounded the cross found by Zhang Geng in 1638 with the one unearthed in the Wurong hills of Nan'an in 1619. The fact that Zhang Geng (in 1633) wrote an inscription (see below, appendix) for the stone with a cross found in 1619 (but not by him) might have contributed to the confusion. So it was probably Dias' mistake that induced the editors of the 1878 (T'ou-se-we) edition to place Zhang Geng's note after the 1619 cross. As this edition circulated widely (cf. Fang Hao in his bibliographical note, WXXB 1.23), several authors who wrote about these Fujian crosses took the note by Zhang Geng as referring to the cross found in 1619: Havret 1897, p. 95/96, 174; Moule 1930, pp. 78-79; Saeki 1937, p. 436; J. Foster, "Crosses from the Walls of Zaitun," *JRAS*, April 1954, p. 1; Wu Wenliang 1957, p. 37.

for the monk Jigu. In the first Guangming year (880) the name was changed into Dongchan. Later it fell into ruins." The old stone with a cross was lying near the monastery, at a distance of 100 odd paces, at the side of a field.⁷⁴ Nobody had noticed it before. In the second month of the eleventh year of Chongzhen, on the fourth Eastern day (7 April 1638), a Christian (*jiaoyou*) saw it when worshipping at the graves. It is said that in the third month, on the day before full moon (27 April), Christians (*tongjiaozhe*) reverently placed it in the church.

In 1619 (Wanli 47), only a few years before the discovery of the Nestorian stele (1623), Zheng Hairu, a scholar of Quanzhou, found in the Wurong hills (Nan'an county) a stone with a cross engraved on it while digging the ground to build a shanty for reading the *Book of Changes*. Not knowing what kind of object it was, he had it stored. Ten years later (1629, Chongzhen 2), when Zheng Hairu had already died, his grandson (*zi* Dongli) heard Aleni preaching in Quanzhou. Then he realized that the stone found by his grandfather might have some connection with Aleni's teachings. So he invited Aleni to have a look at it. Aleni visited Zheng with Zhang Geng (whose daughter was married with a son of Zheng Dongli). When Aleni showed them a copy of the inscription of the Xi'an stele that has a cross on the top, they concluded that the stone unearthed in Wurong was also a Christian relic from Tang times. Later (1638) Zhang Geng found himself a cross in Quanzhou. Su Shiqian (1542-1622), the father of Su Maoxiang (1567-1630),⁷⁵ obtained another cross from the Shuilu monastery in Quanzhou. Christians came to know about it in the second month of 1638 (16.3-13.4). They had it placed in the church on Maud Thursday (1 April 1638). Besides these three crosses that were reproduced in Dias' book (1644), another cross was discovered in June 1635

⁷⁴ Near to the same monastery—in an area with many foreign tombstones—a cemetery was found, that might be the resting place of Shariff Uddin from Tabriz, see L. C. Goodrich, "Recent Discoveries at Zayton," *JAOS* 77 (1957), pp. 161-165 (pp. 161-162). The *Monography*, quoted in the legenda translated above, is *Quanzhou fuzhi* (j. 16, ff. 26b-27a; revised edition [1927] of the 1870 edition), see Goodrich, p. 162, n. 11 (*JAOS* 77).

⁷⁵ He was an acquaintance of Yang Tingyun (1562-1627). The latter edited a book of family instructions by Su Shiqian, when his son, Su Maoxiang, was governor of Zhejiang (August 1620 - Nov 1622), see Standaert 1988, p. 45. Su Maoxiang wrote a preface to *Sanshan lunxue ji*, a report of a discussion about the Christian teachings held in 1627 between Aleni and mainly Ye Xianggao (*WXXB* 1.419-493; pp. 421-424, preface by Su Maoxiang). For the reproduction of the stone with a cross obtained by Su Shiqian (according to the legenda), see p. 754 of the *WXXB* edition.

in Quanzhou. It is not clear why this cross was not reproduced by Dias.⁷⁶

75

While missionaries and their converts were convinced that the discovery of ancient Christian relics in Shenxi and Fujian would result in a gradual conversion of China to Christianity, Fujian also became the centre of strong anti-Christian sentiments. In 1633 Huang Zhen of Zhangzhou, after having been listening for some time to Aleni's preaching there, decided to take up arms against these teachings. Gradually more and more literati from Fujian and

(*xi*) - ⁷⁶ The story of its discovery is told in Li Jiugong's *Lixiu yijian* (1639/1645); see the first story in the section *shengjia* (the holy Cross; two stories, ff. 9a2-10b2):

"Within [our] religion the adoration of the Cross is transmitted. Most people do not know its origin. They are always full of doubts about it and do not believe in it. Our merciful Lord commiserated with them and several times He granted a warrant to show [its truth]. In the 47th year of Wanli (1619) one discovered a stone engraved with a cross in the Wurong hills. Then in the third year of Tianqi (1623) one found the stele eulogising the Luminous Teaching (*Jingjiao beisong*) in Guanzhong (Shenxi) while digging the ground. On top of this stele there is also a cross engraved. Nowadays genuine rubbings of it are placed in every church of the province and [everyone] can check it. Moreover, one night during the last decade of the fourth month of the eighth year of Chongzhen (4-14 June 1635) there was in the village Likeng of Quanzhou, at a distance of 50 odd *li* from the city, under the cypresses of the Xionglu retreat a light [like] of a fire. The villagers suspected that there was gold hidden in the ground. With a lot of people they began to dig and when they found something, it appeared to be a stone slab with a cross drawn on it. There was then a Christian (*fengjiao you*), Bernardus Yan, who had his residence (*guan*) near to that place. So he explained to them the holy doctrine. It was for the first time that the people there did hear something of it. Then on the 23rd day of the eighth month (3 October 1635) Mr Ai (Aleni) on his way to Qingzhang (Zhangzhou) passed the place and immediately went to make reverence to it. He told them to set up the stone with a cross in a public place. Later most people became believers and together they built a church there. This is also a miracle that proofs [the truth of] the holy teachings" (j. 2, f. 9a2-9b5).

A note (probably by Li Jiugong) in the upper margin of the just translated text reads: "The Shenxi stele with inscription and the stones of Wurong and Xionglu without inscription are all favours granted by the Sovereign of Heaven. From now on, those who doubt will believe and believers will no longer be in doubt." The poem of the convert Su Fuying (see note 37) that refers to the Shenxi stele and the Wurong stone (*WX*, p. 678 column 3, first two pentasyllabic lines) probably also refers to this stone slab (see the following pentasyllabic line: *shiqin shengjia ji*). A shorter version of the story about the discovery of this stone slab is found in Li Jiugong's *Shensi lu* (written before 1677 and published after his death in 1681), j. 1, f. 12a (*Courant* 7227). He also mentions the cross, found in 1619, and the stele of 1623, with the iron cross of Luling (Jiangxi), said to date back to the Wu dynasty (222-280; for this iron cross, see Moule 1930, pp. 82-85. Li Jiugong was convinced that these four crosses were relics from the time the apostle Thomas preached the Gospel in China.

Possibly the first of the two (square) seals at the end of Li Jiugong's preface (1639) to his *Lixiu yijian* (*Courant* 6876) that consist of a Nestorian cross within a circle, covering nearly the entire seal, is a reproduction of the stone slab found in 1635 (the second seal gives his Christian name: Duomo "Thomas").

Zhejiang wrote anti-Christian essays. Early in 1640 Xu Changzhi published his *Poxie ji*, a large collection of such essays, mainly taken from earlier collections. One of these earlier collections, *Yuandao pixie shuo*, published in 1636 by the monk Feiyin Tongrong (1593-1661), contains the essay *Zhuxie xianju lu* by Li Wangting (zi Youlong) from Jian'ou (Jianning Prefecture). He met Aleni in Jian'ou one or two years before.⁷⁷ In his essay, Li gave a few examples of some unbelievable arguments with which the missionaries try to convince people of the truth of their teachings:

Take the rubbing that they hang up in their church. Asked about it they say: "The Lord of Heaven commiserated with the people and so he had a stone crack from a mountain in Sichuan with a text in seal characters that contains the earliest knowledge [in China] about the incarnation of the Lord of Heaven." Alas, what a weird story! Sichuan is at the other side of China, but it is not all an area where people do not go to. [...] People from Sichuan do not know about [this text], and should the Western barbarians be the only ones who know about it [...] How can we be sure that [this text] has not been secretly printed, as so far there is not any trace of such a stone in Sichuan?⁷⁸

Li spoke of a rubbing of this text, hang up in the church. This cannot but refer to the Xi'an stele (cf. *Lixiu yijian*, 2.9a, quoted in note 76). Both Li Jiugong (or his source) and Zhang Geng took the discovery of such relics as an act of commiseration that God granted the Chinese.

Around the same time (ca. 1636) Chen Hanxin, a *xiucai* from Fu'an county (Fujian) and a *gongsheng* of the Chongzhen period, wrote an anti-Christian pamphlet. He went to Peking to present a memorial asking to expel the missionaries (Friars from the Philippines who since 1633 were staying in Fu'an). Two Franciscans, Gaspar Alenda and Francisco Bermudez, went after him trying to prevent the presentation of the memorial. They arrived in Peking on 14 August 1637, where they were "arrested" by Adam Schall and in chains sent back to Fu'an.⁷⁹ Still enraged by their treatment in Peking, Bermudez and two other

⁷⁷ Aleni visited Jian'ou for the first time towards the end of 1633, see *Kouduo richao* 5.1a (24 November [23.X], conversation about Buddhism) and *Lixiu yijian* 2.33b (1633, 10th month). For Li Wangting's essay, see first article, notes 61 and 150.

⁷⁸ *Pixie ji*, 2.17a; *Poxie ji* 6.18, cf. Gernet 1982, p. 168.

⁷⁹ For this episode, see O. Maas, *Die Wiederöffnung der Franziskanermission in China* (Münster, 1926), pp. 63-66; B. Biermann, *Die Anfänge der neueren Dominikanermission in China* (Münster, 1927), p. 54; *Sinica Franciscana*, vol. II (A. van den Wijngaert ed.; Quaracchi, 1933), pp. 250-251;

Franciscans acted in such a way that they were arrested by Chinese authorities in Ningde (near to Fu'an). On 16 December 1637, the maritime inspector Shi Bangyao ordered to have them expelled with the leaders of their Wuwei (Non-Action) sect, viz. Manuel Dias Jr and Giulio Aleni.⁸⁰ It is not clear if Dias and Aleni really went to Macao or that they hid somewhere in Fujian.⁸¹ On 14 July 1639 Aleni could reopen his church in Fuzhou.

Meanwhile some Fujian literati came to the defense of Aleni and the Jesuits. In the first month of 1639 (February-March), Huang Mingqiao, a native of Jinjiang (prefectural city of Quanzhou) and *jinshi* of 1604, wrote his *Tianxue chuangai*, in which the missionaries from the Philippines (i.e. the Dominicans and Franciscans) were accused of having caused the troubles. His apology begins by referring to the fact that Christianity had already been preached in China during the Tang, as is proven by the Shenxi stele. Its preaching had been interrupted but continued again, when Ricci arrived in China.⁸²

The collection *Xichao chongzhen ji* (4 *juan*, partly preserved) was compiled around this time (early 1639). One part (preserved only in manuscript) contains poems by Fujian literati, composed in the preceding years (1625-1638) in praise of the Jesuits and Christianity (see note 37). Another part, also entitled *Xichao chongzhen ji* (2 *juan*, printed by the Jingjiao tang of Fuzhou; Courant 1322) contains in the first *juan* documents, called "Ancient traces of the Study of Heaven in China" (*Zhonghua Tianxue guji*), and in the second *juan* memorials (the last dating of 1 January 1639) that testified to the Imperial favours granted to the Jesuits. On the recto of the title-page of this collection a rubbing (1638) of the Wurong stone is repro-

Väth 1933, pp. 133-134. Caballero (*DMB* 1.23-31) refuted Chen Hanxin: "Apologia pro Fide Christiana contra Doctorem Chin-Han-Sin (Yan-kuang-Sien)" (Streit, *BM* 5.784, no 6). Both Chen's pamphlet and memorial and Caballero's refutation have not been preserved. Caballero's "Apologia" is sometimes confounded with another "Apologia" (in Spanish) he wrote to refute *Bude yi* by Yang Guangxian (*ECCP* 889-892), cf. Bernard 1945, p. 370, no 424. "Chin-Han-Sin" must refer to Chen Hanxin, see *Fu'an xianzhi* (*Zhongguo fangzhi congshu*, Huazhong difang no. 78), 19.36a (p. 197), 23.12b (p. 258).

⁸⁰ The official acts of this persecution are reproduced in *Poxie ji* 2, ff. 30a-35a (proclamation by Shi Bangyao), ff. 36a-37b (proclamation by a judicial censor, Xu Shiyin), ff. 38a-38b (proclamation by the Prefect of Fuzhou, Wu Qilong); cf. Gernet 1982, pp. 53, 66-67, 155, 249-250.

⁸¹ In *Kouduo richao* (a kind of *yulu*, "recorded sayings" of Aleni) there is between *juan* 7 and 8 a gap of some eleven months (29 October 1637 - 22 September 1638). This shows that Aleni did not preach in public during that period.

⁸² Courant 6875.

duced.⁸³ The verso of it gives the title in big characters (*Xichao chongzhen ji*) and to the right of it (in smaller characters) the subtitle reads: "The stele eulogising the Luminous Teachings of Tang times and all ancient traces of the Teaching of Heaven" (*Tang Jingjiao beisong ji zhu Tianjiao guji*). This first *juan* consist of the following documents:

- 1) the Chinese text of the Xi'an stele (ff. 1a-6a);
- 2) postface (1625) by Li Zhizao (ff. 7a-10a);
- 3) unnumbered folio with (recto) a reproduction of the Wurong stone; [for a reproduction, see below, p. 308]
- 4) inscription (ca. 1632) composed by Xu Guangqi for the Jingjiao church at Jiangzhou, Shanxi (ff. 11a-13a);
- 5) unnumbered folio with (recto, upper half) a reproduction of the cross on top of the Xi'an stele⁸⁴ and (verso) the title of the inscription (*Tang Jingjiao beisong bing xu*) with a short introduction that apparently accompanied a reprint (*chongke*) of the inscription to be distributed among interested friends (*tongzhi*);⁸⁵ [for a reproduction, see below, p. 307]
- 6) inscription (1633) by Zhang Geng on the discovery of the Wurong stone with a cross (ff. 14a-16b, translated below, pp. 309-311).

⁸³ For a reproduction (slightly different from the one in Dias' book, but with the same legenda), see below (before the appendix).

⁸⁴ On the upper margin in small characters a line from the inscription is quoted: "He set out the figure of ten (the Cross) to define the four quarters" (Moule 1930, p. 35).

⁸⁵ This introduction does not contain specific Christian terms. Christianity is called *tianxue* (Study of Heaven) and *jingjiao* (Luminous Teaching) that supplements Confucianism and changes Buddhism (*bu Ru yi Fo*). The reprint was probably made for interested literati (*keji shixiu zhi shi*).

The two unnumbered folios were misplaced: the first (no. 3) should have been placed before the inscription by Zhang Geng (no. 6) and the second (no. 5) before the reprint of the Xi'an inscription (no. 1). Again, a confusion, it seems, between the Xi'an stele (Zhang Gengyu) and the Wurong stone (Zhang Geng).

As the Fujian authorities in December 1637 accused Christianity of being a heterodox religion of foreigners, the publication of these documents had to convince influential people of the fact that Christianity had already been preached in China during the Tang, not only in Shenxi but also in Fujian. Although we now know that the Wurong stele is a (Nestorian or Roman Catholic)⁸⁶ relic of Yuan times, people were then convinced that like the Xi'an stele it dated back to Tang times.

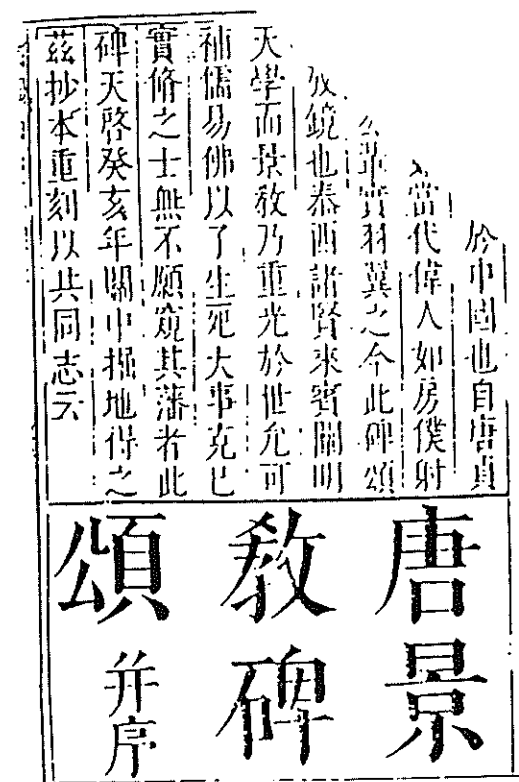
77 Zhang Geng wrote his inscription about the Wurong stone in 1633. It was engraved on a commemorative stele in the summer of that year, nearly four years after he and Aleni came to know about the existence of this stone (18 November 1629).⁸⁷ With Zhang Geng, Aleni went to the owner to have a look at it and the three men, comparing it with the cross on the Xi'an stele, concluded that this cross was similar to that on the stele. If Zhang Geng is none other than Zhang Gengyu, it is surprising to see that it is Aleni who took with him a copy of the Xi'an stele (or only of the cross on top of it) and that Zhang Geng is entirely silent about his role in the discovery of this stele. This silence is in contradiction with his behaviour some years later. Then he let people know that he was the Christian (mentioned in the legenda) who had found the cross (1638) that was placed in the church at Taoyuan. Zhang Geng wrote this note, according to Verhaeren, only to account for the fact that this cross was no longer in Quanzhou. But Zhang Geng also wanted to let people know of this act of grace, i.e. that he found that cross. After all, he was the only Christian who found a cross—the other two were found by Zheng Hairu and Su Shiqian, who were not Christians. Around the time he found it, he wrote parts (*fenlu*) of *juan 7* (covering the period of 21 February - 28 October 1637) of *Kouduo richao*, in which the discovery of the Nestorian monument in 1623 is also mentioned (f. 19a). Verhaeren refers to it in order to prove that the monument was discovered in 1623, as it came from the pen of the very man who should have discovered it. Since there were people who suggested that this monument and its inscription was a fabrication of the missionaries (Li Wangting, see above), one wonders why Aleni, who is making the statement in a conversation (10 June 1637) with a certain *juren* Zhou, did not

⁸⁶ Wu Wenliang 1957, p. 37, could not make out whether these Quanzhou crosses were Nestorian or Roman Catholic (Franciscan mission).

⁸⁷ For this date, see the story in *Lixiu yijian*, j. 2, 24b-25b (translated below, appendix).

point out to his sceptical interlocutor that Zhang Geng, present at this conversation, was the man who in fact had "discovered" this monument.

For Zhang Geng's silence about his foreign ancestry, Verhaeren did give an argument, although questionable. He did not mention nor explain, however, Zhang Geng's silence about his part in the discovery of the Xi'an stele. As Zhang mentions the Xi'an stele in his writings (*Kouduo richao* j. 7 and *Wurong chudi shizijia beixu*) and wrote a note about his discovery of a cross (1638), this silence only confirms, as explained in the preceding chapter, that he is not the same person as Zhang Gengyu, who "discovered" the Xi'an stele.



The cross on top of the Nestorian monument (781, discovered in 1623), with a short introduction accompanying a reprint of the text on the monument. Unnumbered folio between f. 13 and f. 14 of *juan* 1 of the *Xichao chongzhen ji*, 1639 (Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris, Chinois 1322). Cliché B.N.

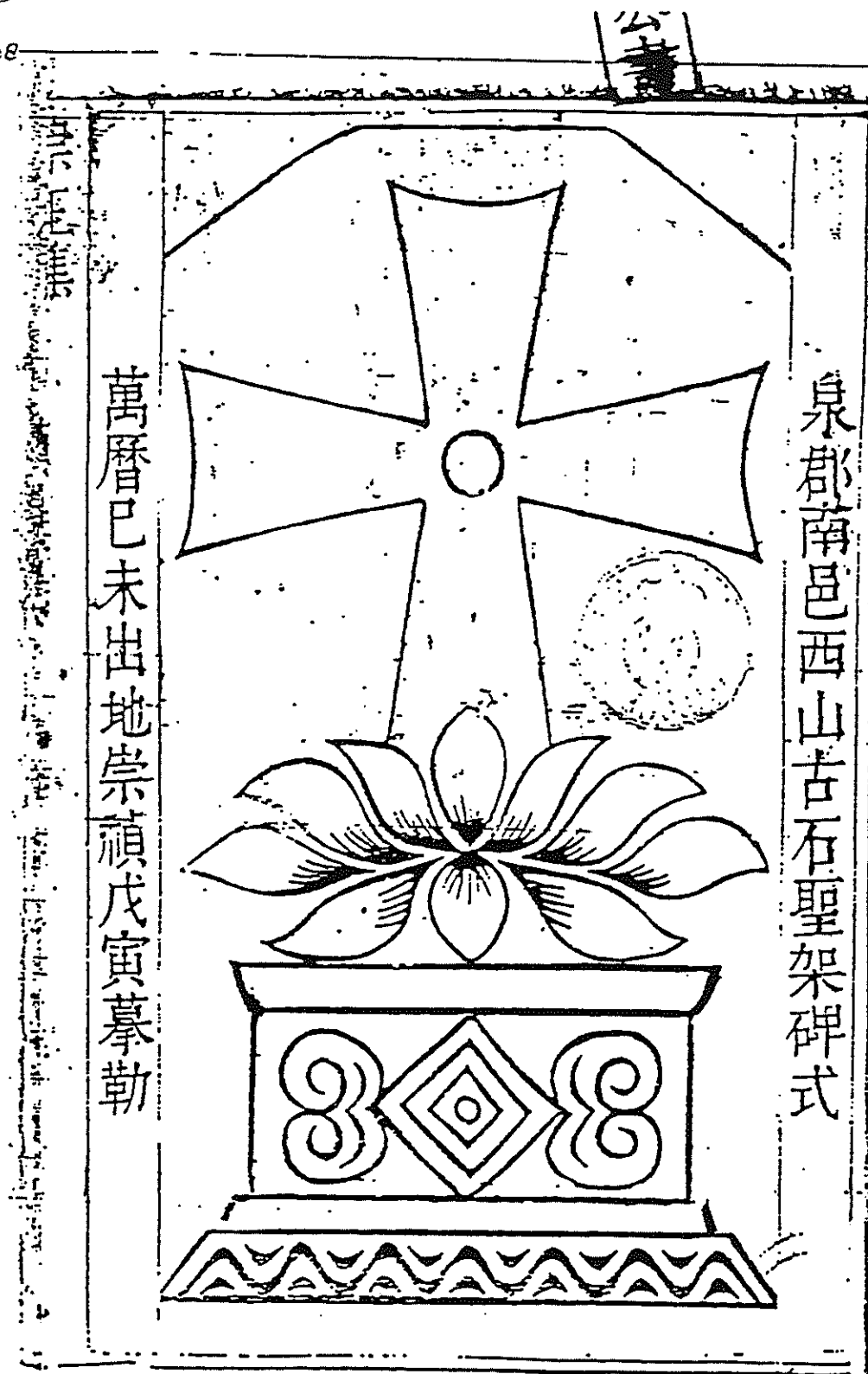
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p. 78



The cross on top of the Nestorian monument (781, discovered in 1623), with a short introduction accompanying a reprint of the text on the monument. Unnumbered folio between f. 13 and f. 14 of *juan 1* of the *Xichao chongzhen ji*, 1639 (Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris, Chinois 1322). Cliché B.N.



The stele with a cross, found in the Wurong hills of Quanzhou in 1619. Rubbing made in 1638 and reproduced as the frontispiece of the *Xichao chongzhen ji*, 1639 (Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris, Chinois 1322). Cliché B.N.

APPENDIX

Wurong chudi shizijia bei xu

by Zhang Geng of Wenling.

That Heaven has a Sovereign is something that one has always asserted and has always believed. When people hear about the name Lord of Heaven, they take it as something unusual. But if one scrutinizes it then and again, even though one takes it as something unusual, one begins to realize that this appellation has the same meaning as the Sovereign in Heaven (*tiandi*) and that there are not two names [for the same thing]. Therefore, one might call the Sovereign in Heaven the Lord of Heaven and regard him as the Lord whom all human beings worship and serve. Even most stupid and dull people will not take this as something strange. As for the preaching of the Incarnation and the adoration of the Cross, however, not merely less clever people do not believe it, but even people who are more self-confident and clever do not believe it. Even a most dull person like myself, when I had not yet heard of the Way, did not dare to bow my head and believe it. At that time I said: "The most divine is without form, so I do not believe in Incarnation. Precisely because of its being without form, I do believe in the Lord of Heaven and revere the Lord of Heaven. The most divine is self-reliant, so I do not believe in the Cross. Precisely because of its being self-reliant, I believe in the Lord of Heaven and revere the Lord of Heaven." From now on, I know that the Lord of Heaven truly is without form and that the Lord of Heaven truly is self-reliant. But if He had determined himself to being without form and to being self-reliant, he could never have transformed [things] into appearance and form and, moreover, continuously send down these utensils on which one can rely with confidence. Then one would again distrust [the unseen] as illusory and void and, moreover, not worthwhile to be believed and revered. [The story] that a star incarnated as (Fu) Yue, and the (Southern) Peak as Fu and Shen,⁸⁸ has also some foundation, as it was transmitted since Antiquity and most people believed in it. The Lord of Heaven created the stars and the (Five)

⁸⁸ For Fu Yue, see B. Watson transl., *The Complete Works of Chuang Tzu*, New York & London, 1968, p. 82. For Fu and Shen, see Ode # 259, stanza 1; cf. A. Waley transl., *The Book of Songs*, New York, 1937, p. 133 (no 137).

Peaks, so one can say that things he has created incarnate. Can the one who creates things, however, become incarnated himself. For what reason did he become incarnated? For us living beings. For what reason did he die? To save us from death. When he died, he used this cross to accomplish his strenuous effort. Having died he resuscitated and ascended to Heaven, and left this cross behind to send down miracles. This is something we have to be grateful for, from generation to generation. Why should this be something to be amazed of. The bow *wuhao* left behind (by the Yellow Emperor, when he ascended to Heaven) also increased the believe (in the Yellow emperor). The holy Cross is most real and not subject to doubt. If one doubts without any reason, then one does not make inquiries any longer and does not believe. But disbelieve and irreverence belong to human nature too, so the Lord of Heaven commiserated with the people below and bestowed a warrant (*fujie*) to demonstrate it.

In the 47th year of the Wanli period (1619) Mr. Zheng Hairu discovered in the Wurong hills a stone engraved with a cross, but nobody could make out to which time this divine object dated back. Then in the third year of the Tianqi period (1623), when one was digging the ground in Guanzhong, one found the stele eulogising the Luminous Teaching (*Jingjiao beisong*) that has a cross engraved on the top. In my opinion the style of engraving is the same as that on the Wurong stele. The Guanzhong stele, however, contains an inscription, so one knows that it was engraved during the Tang and that it word for word tallies with the things the present Western teachers are telling about the doctrine of the incarnation and the cross and about the religious rules and regulations. Although the Wurong stele does not contain any text at all, Mr Hairu, being a scholar, was of the opinion that it should not be thrown aside or treated with irreverence, so he treasured it and set it up against the wall of his scanty for reading the *Book of Changes*. How regrettable that he passed away without ever knowing about this miracle of the Lord and about the proof that the Guanzhong stele contains. Master Ai Siji (Aleni), a priest from the Far West, came from a distance of 90,000 *li* to propagate [his religion] in China and came to Fujian. He is the master from whom I formerly received the teachings. In the second year of the Chongzhen period (1629) he came to Wenling and I happened to retire to my native place. With fellow Christians I had a church built for the commandery on the old Chongfu site. When the grandson of Mr Hairu, who happens to be the husband of my daughter, was among the audience of master Ai and heard the true explanation of the cross, he told him about this stele. With the master I went

at once to have a look at it. Out of gratitude we looked up [to Heaven] and made a ceremony of praise. This happened five years ago, when the building of the church was not yet finished. Later we placed it in the church so that all could worship it. Alas! Wurong is at a distance of several thousand *li* from Guanzhong and is not a place that one would have brought in connection with it. The Tang is at a distance of a thousand years from today and is not a time that one would have brought in connection with it. The Guanzhong stele with inscription and the Wurong stele without inscription one would also not have brought their engravings into connection with each other. The relics of these holy crosses tally like two halves. These two stele were found about the same time, as if it was foreordained. Just because the Western master came along with [a copy of] the Guanzhong engraving, we [could] discuss it detail by detail and get the evidence, as if it was granted by a predestined chance. Yes, we all know that the Lord is not in front of our eyes. Even if there were no tokens and proofs, we should believe and revere Him. But few are those who believe and few are those who revere. So Our Lord now bestowed these warrants, as if "(Heaven) conferred [the proof] by repeated injunctions" (*Mencius* V.1, 5.3). How strange it is that this cross was hidden for generations and in our days is shining like the sun, whereas our Emperor, born with sagacity and holiness [like king Wen], "attentively toils to serve [the Sovereign on High]" (*xiaoxin zhaoshi*, cf. Ode # 236.3). Moreover, now the administrators of the commanderies in common endeavour cultivate themselves and know whom they have to revere and venerate. Also most of the gentry and the people unitedly follow [them]. This now is the splendid chance for the beginning of peaceful times. Thus from now on let no one restrain his joy from overflowing. I took the liberty to compose this preface hoping to glorify this Way for ever.⁸⁹

1633 years after the incarnation of the Lord of Heaven, in the *guiyou* year, the sixth year of Chongzhen of the Great Ming, reverently composed by the believer and inferior student Zhang Geng. Reverently calligraphed by the disciple Wang Yinchun. Set up collectively by the elders of the society (*huida*) of Wenling in the fifth month of the summer (7 June - 5 July). Reverently engraved by Guo Rugui.

pp. 82-86 glossary

⁸⁹ The colophon that follows is only reproduced in the version found in *TXJJ* 2.57b.

The meeting of Aleni and Zhang Geng with Zheng Dongli, mentioned in the just translated inscription, is also the subject in a story in the (lost) *Zhu'en xiansi*, quoted by Li Jiugong in his *Lixiu yijian* (j. 2, f. 24b-25b):

Xie Maoming was a *xiucai* from Jinjiang. His father, Mr. (Xie) Shouqian, was highly praised among the gentry for his conduct.⁹⁰ He did not follow heterodox teachings. Only when he was 77 years old (78 *sui*) he got Maoming. He admonished him not to become a Buddhist practitioner nor to burn paper money. Xie reverently complied with this fatherly admonition.

During the *bingyin* year of the Tianqi period (1626) he retired to his studio at the River Sun.⁹¹ One night, when still awake, he suddenly heard a voice from the air, saying: "Three and one is the Way; do not separate them at all." He did not know then that in the first month of that year (28 January - 25 February) Mr Ai from the Great West (Giulio Aleni) visited the commandery (of Quanzhou).

On the third day of the tenth month during the winter of the *jisi* year of the Chongzhen period (17 November 1629) he suddenly smelt an unusual fragrance in his room, a fragrance not to become across among ordinary people. At once he realized that some remarkable man had to be in the neighbourhood, whom he had to visit as soon as possible. The next morning he went to the Wurong hills. First he went to visit his younger sister's husband, but he was not a home. Then he went to his cousin, the scholar Zheng Dongli, the eldest son of Mr (Zheng) Hairu and related to Mr Zhang Xiazhan (Zhang Geng) by a marriage between their children.

That very day he (Zheng Dongli) had invited the Western teacher Ai (Aleni) for a visit and they were admiring the old stele with a cross on it that he had at his home. There were only drawings on it and no text. Mr Hairu had found it, when he was digging the ground in order to build a shanty for reading the *Book of Changes*. This had occurred during the *jiwei* year of the Wanli period (1619). At that time one had not yet heard of the teachings of the Lord of Heaven. As nobody could explain to which time this divine object might date back, he had it stored in a corridor. Just when the Western teacher Ai and Mr Xiazhan

⁹⁰ Xie Shouqian is not mentioned in the section 'honest conduct' (*duxing*) of *Jinjiang xianzhi*.

⁹¹ The river Sun was at the southwest of the city of Jinjiang (*Jinjiang xianzhi*, j. 1, f. 27b).

joyfully were appreciating the stele and making a rubbing of it, Xie came along. Now he realized that it was the unusual fragrance that had led him to this place. He asked [Mr Ai] for full details about his teachings. Thereupon he became clearly convinced that the "three and one," that he had heard a voice saying in a former year, had precisely the meaning of "three persons and one nature" (the Trinity). To make public his recognition of the grace [received] by the Lord of Heaven, he had a church built in the city. First, however, he went to the Western teacher Ai for instruction and was baptized by him."

In the collection *Xichao chongzhen ji* (see note 37) there is a poem (2 quatrains) by Xie Maoming, in which he refers to this event:

From where did the unusual fragrance come?
An auspicious sign sent by the Lord of Heaven.
A stele engraved with an cross,
For centuries it had been hidden.

Just to console [us], it presented itself in this time.
Suddenly we realize how long the bitter parting was.
In Sanshan (Fuzhou) we had to meet later.
The teachings are contained in not speaking.⁹²

⁹² WX, p.674. The last line (*jiao zai buyan zhong*) reminds of *Daode jing* 2: "to practice the doctrine without words" (*xing buyan zhi jiao*). More specifically, it refers to a line in the inscription on the Xi'an stele that, speaking of *sanyi* "three and one" (the words Xie Maoming heard in 1626), reads: "he founded the new teaching, unexpressed in words, of the most holy Spirit of the Three in One" (*she sanyi jingfeng, wuyan zhi xinjiao*, TXCH p. 63; Moule 1930, p. 37). It also reminds of the Wurong stele that did not contain any text.

d (27a1-28a1)

Quintum Argumentum
(172-174, pp. 227-231)

27a1

172: Si est aliquod numen, credibile est illud rebus humanis se non miscere, sed seipso beatum & contentum, æternum ævum ducere, semotum à curis mortalium. ...

27a2

Respondeo ita ratiocinari Epicurum... & alios quosdam veterum, ... Et sanè si mens divina foret limitata, neque vim intelligendi infinitam haberet, ratio illa esset valdè probabilis.... Sicuti enim essentia divina est infinita, & universum ens in se eminenter continet: ita etiam intelligentia infinita est.... Itaque hæc consideratio minimorum non est indigna divina Maiestate.... Et quamvis res & actiones humanæ viles sint, non tamen est vilis earum intelligentia, & diiudicatio.... (pp. 227-229)

27a8

173 Nec obstat quòd Deus seipso sit plenissimè beatus. Hoc enim solùm probat, ipsum extra se nihil agere, neque curam rerum gerere eo fine, ut inde beator reddatur, aut sibi aliquid commodi acquirat. ... (p. 229)

27b3

174 Dicet aliquis, Deum quidem scire quid homines agant, dicant, cogitent; nihil tamen curare: sicut magni Principes, quorum status in tuto est, parum curant, quid plebs de illis dicat. Sed hoc absurdissimè dicitur. Cùm enim homo sit opus Dei, cuius menti ipse leges iustitiæ omnisque virtutis impressit, maximè ad illum pertinet illius curam gerere, ut secundùm illas leges vivat. Ad opificem enim pertinet curare suum opus, ut perfectum evadat: ad legislatorem, ut leges, quas suis subditis imposuit, servantur (p. 230). ... Atqui Deus ubique præsens est: ... omnia in eius oculis & præsentia geruntur. Fatuum itaque est, putare eum dictis, factis, & cogitatis hominum non tangi, non exacerbari, non delectari. Quòd maior est illa maiestas... & quòd maiora eius in nos beneficia: eò magis & acriùs omnes iniurias & legum suarum prævaricationes sentit & ponderat, & suo tempore vindicabit.

x

Hactenus de providentia numinis: atque hic esto finis lib.1. Sequitur liber secundus, qui de animi immortalitate (p. 231).

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GLOSSARY

A-bo-luo
 Arai Hakuseki
 Atsutoshi Hamashima
 Ayuwang shanzhi
 Ai (Ai Long)
 Aijin xing quan
 Ai jun
 Ai Nanying
 Ai shi ming
 Ai Siji
 Ai Tian
 Ai xiaolian jixie ru jing
 An-dang Bao-lu
 Anfu
 Annan
 an shen
 Anxi
 Ao yi (Folangji yizhong)

ba
 Ba-de-le
 Ba-la-ji-duo
 Ba-li-lang-dang (lei)
 Ba-nu
 Baxie lueyin
 Bai Baoyi
 Baichi (Baichi Yuan)
 Baichi chanshi yulu
 Baijing bian
 Bailian yaozei
 Baisha yanxing lu
 Bai Yunji
 Banruo yuechao
 Baoying
 Beidou jing
 Beijing tushuguan guji shanben shumu
 bei ke dao
 bei zhi
 Ben-duo
 Ben lun
 bentu
 Ben Yu bu neng duo ye
 benyuan
 Bi-yue-er
 bian
 bian'e
 Bianliang
 bian qi fei Xiyang zhi benwen
 Biantian sanshuo
 Bianxue shugao
 Bianxue yidu
 Bianxue zhangshu
 Biaodu shuo
 Biaozhong ci

阿波羅
 新井白石
 濱島敦俊
 啊育王山志
 艾 (艾龍)
 哀衿行詮
 艾君
 艾南英
 哀時命
 艾思及
 艾田
 艾孝廉計偕入京
 安當葆祿
 安福
 安南
 安身
 安息
 澳夷 (佛郎機一種)

跋
 罷德勒
 巴刺濟多
 巴禮郎當 (雷)
 巴孛
 拔邪略引
 白抱一
 百癡 (百癡元)
 百癡禪師語錄
 百警編
 白蓮妖賊
 白沙言行錄
 白雲齋
 般若約鈔
 實應
 北斗經
 北京圖書館古籍善本書目
 北科道
 悲智
 本多
 本論
 本體
 賁育不能奪也
 本原
 卑約爾
 變
 扁額
 卞梁
 辨其非西洋之本文
 辨天三說
 辨學疏稿
 辨學遺稿
 辨學章疏
 表度說
 表忠祠

A / B

bie
 bieji
 Bingzhu bian
 bingzi
 Bogui
 Boni
 Boyong
 bu
 bu (ben, tao)
 bu da yili
 Budeyi bian
 bu ji
 bu jian ke yu
 bu jing
 Buren buyan
 bu zhi qi zi heren heri

Cai Congcheng (Zihai)
 Cai Wu
 canyi
 can yuanyi
 Cangxia cao
 Cao Fan
 Cao Yubian
 Cehou tushuo
 Celiang fayi
 ce yin (zhi xin ren zhi duan ye)
 cha lun, cha yu ren lun
 chanjiao
 changsheng he zai, zai shi yi zhenzhu ji suo shi Yesu Qilisidu

Changshu
 Changxing
 Changzhou
 chaopai
 Chaotian gong
 Chaoxian
 Chen Bangzhan
 Chen Di
 Chen Guofu
 Chen Hao
 chenhui
 Chen Kui
 Chen Liang (Chen Zeliang)
 Chen Liangcai
 Chen Ping
 Chen Qiaoyi
 Chen Rong
 Chen Shouyi
 Chen Xianzhang
 Chen xueshi xiansheng chuji
 Chen Yi
 Chen Yidian
 Chen Yuan (xueshu lunwen ji)
 Chen Zenghui
 Chen Zhen

B / C

鼈
 別集
 炳燭編
 丙子
 伯圭
 李泥
 伯離
 不
 部 (本, 套)
 不達義理
 不得已辯
 不及
 不見可欲
 不經
 不忍不言
 不知起自何人何日

蔡從誠 (紫海)
 蔡武
 參議
 參遠夷
 蒼霞草
 曹蕃
 曹子汴
 測候圖說
 測量法義
 惻隱 (之心仁之端也)
 察倫, 察於人倫
 闡教
 常生何在, 在識一真主暨所使耶穌契利斯督
 常熟
 長興
 常州
 抄牌
 朝天宮
 朝鮮
 陳邦瞻
 陳迪
 陳國符
 陳皓
 沉 (冗, rong) 晦
 陳騷
 陳梁 (陳則梁)
 陳亮采
 陳平
 陳橋驛
 陳榮
 陳受顯
 陳獻章
 陳學士先生初集
 陳儀
 陳懿典
 陳垣 (學術論文集)
 陳增輝
 陳軫

Chenzi yanxing lu	陳子言行錄
Chen Zuolin	陳作霖
Cheng Hao	程顥
Cheng Ju	成矩
cheng ren qu yi	成仁取義
Cheng Sanxing	程三省
cheng sheng	成聖
Cheng Shi	成時
Cheng weishi lun suquan	成唯識論俗詮
Cheng Yi	程頤
Chengyong	成勇
Cheng Zilong	陳子龍
chijian	勅建
Chion'in	知恩院
Chongfu	崇福
Chongli	崇禮
Chongxiang ji	崇相集
chongyi	崇義
chongyi shengzhen	崇懿聖真
Chongyi tang riji suibi	崇一堂日記隨筆
Chongzhen	崇禎
Chongzhen di zhi chexiang ji xinyang	崇禎帝之徽像及信仰
Chu	楚
Chuci	楚辭
Chufen Xiyi yi	處分西夷議
chu fengjiao zhe Shen gong zhe (ming Que, Zhe ren)	初奉教者有沈公者(名權, 浙人)疏彈西學
shu tan Xixue	處西人王豐齋議
Chu Xiren Wang Fengsu yi	除妖公案
Chuyao gong'an	闖入
chuangru	純
chun	春坊
chunfang	春秋集解
Chunqiu jijie	春秋傳
Chunqiu zhuan	祠祭
ciji	辭海(地理分冊, 歷史地理)
Cihai (dili fence, lishi dili)	慈母堂
Cimu tang	辭讓
ci rang	次尚書
ci shangshu	(金)刺史
cishi (Jin)	詞章
ci wei guishun wanghua hu, yi yi anshang wanghua hu	此為歸順王化乎, 抑亦暗傷王化乎
cizhang	詞章
Cui Ruxiu	崔儒秀
Congshu jicheng chubian	叢書集成初編
Dabi shanfang ji	大泌山房集
Dacheng wubu	大乘五部
dacuo	大錯
Dadao xing	大道行
Da Deqing Xu Kuoru jushi Guangye	答德清許廓如居士廣誠
Dali si you si zheng	大理寺右寺正
Daliang (Circuit)	大梁(道)
Da Meng shangshu shu	答孟尚書書
Da Ming guanzhi tianxia yudi shuilu chengxian	大明官制天下輿地水路程限備覽
Da Ming huidian	大明會典
Da Ming lu	大明律

C / D

Dani	大師塔銘
Dashi taming	大司徒張公
da situ Zhang gong	大統
Datong	大隋
Dawei	大西利西泰先生行蹟
Daxi Li Xitai xiansheng xingji	大西洋
Da Xiyang	大賢古德
Daxian Gude	大要
dayao	大藏
Dazang	代疑編(篇)
Daiyi bian (pian)	代疑(續)編
Daiyi (xu)bian	代疑序略說
Daiyi xu lueshuo	澹園集
Danyuan ji	道德(道德經)
daode (Daode jing)	到家謝恩疏
Daojia xie'en shu	悼靈
Daoling	道術
daoshu	道統
daotong	道藏目錄詳註
Daozang mulu xiangzhu	道藏源流考
Daozang yuanliu kao	德
de	歸德
Degui	德楷
Dekai	德清(縣志)
Deqing (xianzhi)	德清山館記
Deqing shan guan ji	德清聖蹟記
Deqing shengji ji	德園集
Deyuan ji	等公
deng gong	等因
dengyin	登州
Dengzhou	等諸公
deng zhugong	帝
di	帝京景物略
Dijing jingwu lue	帝心
di xin	第一篇明天體以破利奧爾天罔世
Di yi pian ming Tian ti yi po Li yi jian tian wang shi	地藏寺
Dizang (monastery)	弟子
dizi	玷
dian	訂
ding	丁賓
Ding Bin	定體
dingti	東禪
Dongchan	東極篇
Dongji pian	東郊畔
Dongjiaopan	東林(列傳)
Donglin (liezhuan)	董其昌
Dong Qichang	銅山
Dongshan	東堂
Dongtang	董應舉
Dong Yingju	董羽宸
Dong Yuchen	冬月
dongyue	履
du (document)	履
du (casket)	杜光庭
Du Guangting	讀景教碑(書)後
Du Jingjiao bei (shu) hou	

D

du sheng
dushui Li Wocun gong (hui Zhizao)
duxue yushi
dun tian bei fa

e-er-deng
e ji
e-la-ji-ya
Ershiwu yan
er xi
er xiang qi shuo
er you kong

Fahu
Fayan (yishu)
fayin
fayu
Fanke Pixie ji xu
Fan Lai
fanli
Fan Shouji
fan si
Fanwang jing (xindi pin Pusa jie yishu fayin)
Fan Zhongyan
fan(zi) shu
fangbian
fangce (Canon)
Fang Congzhe
Fang Hao
fangsheng
Fang Xiaoru
Fang Yizhi
fei jin dangshi benwen
Fei-lue
Fei Yang pian
Feiyin chanshi yulu
Feiyin Tongrong
fenlu
fenxiu chusuo
fenge
Feng Congwu
fenghuang
Feng Jiahui
fengjiao (you)
Feng Mengzhen
Feng Qi
fengsi sheng
Fengxiang (fuzhi)
Feng Yingjing
Fogu Wen chanshi yulu
Folangji yizhong
Fo shuo Amituo jing shuchao yangyi
Fo yu Ru tongyi wei Dao
fu
Fufa shimo
Fujian tongzhi

渡生
都水李我存 (諱之藻)
督學御史
通天俗法

阿兒等
惡疾
額辣濟亞
二十五言
兒戲
而詳其說
而又恐

法護
法言 (義疏)
法因
法語
翻刻關邪集序
范涑
凡例
范守己
凡四
梵網經 (心地品菩薩戒義疏發隱)
范仲淹
番 (字) 書
方便
方冊
方從哲
方豪
放生
方孝孺
方以智
非盡當時本文
費略
非楊篇
費隱禪師語錄
費隱通容
分錄
焚修處所
分野
馮從吾
鳳凰
馮嘉會
奉教 (友)
馮夢禎
馮琦
奉祀生
鳳翔 (府志)
馮應京
佛古閣禪師語錄
佛郎機一種
佛說阿彌陀經疏鈔演義
佛與儒同一衛道
府
付法始末
福建通志

D - F

fujie
furen
fushi
Fuqing
Fuyan Feiyin Rong chanshi jinian lu
Fu Yue
Fuzhou
fuzui zi wu wu ren

Ganying pian
Gao'an Dalang
Gao huangdi (Taizu Gao huangdi)
gaolou
Gao miao
Gaoseng zheyao
Gaoyuan Mingyu
Gaozhou
ge
Ge langzhong
Geting heshang
Ge Yinliang
genben zhongdi
geng lifa
gong
Gong Dingzi
Gongjian
gongsheng
gongxian fangwu shu
gongxian wu dan
Gougu yi
Gude (Gude Xian)
gu huo cong zhi
Gupu
Gu Qiyuan
Gu Tinglin shiji huizhu
Gu Wu Zhao Taichang, chang cong zunren han zhuan gong,
dushu yu Jingzhao zhi shi 古吳趙太常, 嘗從尊人翰撰公, 讀書于京兆之室

Gu Yanwu
guai, nie, yao
guan
guancha Zeng gong
Guandi (Guangong)
Guansheng dijun
Guan Shiqian
Guanyin
Guan Yu
Guanyu Li Madou ji zhong zhi youtairen Ai shi 關於利瑪竇集中之猶太人艾氏
guanzheng
Guanzhong
guang, da, zhi
Guangdong tongzhi
Guangji
guanglu si
guangwen
Gui
gui

符節
夫人
副使
福清
福嚴費隱容禪師紀年錄
傳說
福州
負罪自誤誤人

感應篇
杲菴大朗
高皇帝 (太祖高皇帝)
高樓
高廟
高僧折要
高原明昱
高州
戈
葛郎中
个亭和尚
葛寅亮
根本重地
更曆法
公
龔鼎孳
恭簡
貢生
貢獻方物疏
貢獻物單
勾股義
古德 (古德賢)
顧或從之
古蒲
顧起元
顧亭林詩集集註
顧炎武
怪, 孽, 妖
館
觀察曾公
關帝 (關公)
關聖帝君
關世謙
觀音
關羽
關於利瑪竇集中之猶太人艾氏
觀政
關中
廣, 大, 智
廣東通志
廣籍
光祿司
廣文
桂 (王)
軌

F - G

gui
Guide
guihai
guisi
guiyou
Guizhou
guo
Guochao huazheng lu
guojia
Guoque
Guo Rugui
Guo Shangbin
Guoshi jingji zhi
guowang
Guoxue jiben congshu
Guoyu
Guozi jian siye
Guo Zizhang

Hafo daxue Hafo Yanjing xueshe tushuguan cang Mingdai leishu gaishu
哈佛大學哈佛燕京學社圖書館藏明代類書概述

haidao
haigui heiren
Haishan xianguan congshu
Haiyan (xianzhi)
han
Han Daozhao
Hanfen lou miji
Han Jing
Han Kuang
Han Lin
Harmo daquan
Hanshan Deqing
Hanshu (Hou Hanshu)
Han Wu gushi
Han Xiaoyan
Han Yu (shiwen pingzhu)
Hangzhou (fuzhi)
hao
Hao Jing
Hebei renmin chuban she
Hefen jiao
Heke yingyin jinshi hanji congkan, Sixiang xubian
Hekija (Byakuja) kankenroku
he-la-ji
He Weibo
He Xinyin (ji)
He Xiongxiang
He Zongyan
heifan
heigui
Hengzhou
hongmao
Hongwu (hillock)
hongyi
Houguan

歸
歸德
癸亥
癸巳
癸酉
歸州
通
國朝畫徵錄
國家
國權
郭如珪
郭尚賓
國史經籍志
國王
國學基本叢書
國語
國子監司業
郭子章

海道
海鬼黑人
海山仙館叢書
海鹽 (縣志)
函
韓道昭
涵芬樓秘笈
韓敬
韓廣
韓霖
翰墨大全
慈山德清
漢書 (後漢書)
漢武故事
韓孝彥
韓愈 (詩文評註)
杭州 (府志)
號
郝敬
河北人民出版社
河汾教
關邪管見錄
盍臘際
何維柏
何心隱 (集)
何熊祥
何宗彥
黑番
黑鬼
衡州
紅毛
洪武
紅夷
侯官

houxu
houyan
Hou Yingbin
Hu Anguo
hu shu zongheng zhi di
huxiang
Huzhou (fuzhi)
Huabei (Huazhong) difang
hua cheng
huage (pangxing)
huahu
huashen
huayuan
Huai'an
Huanrong jiaoyi
Huangyou quan
Huangbo (mountain)
Huangbo kanyu / zhi
Huangbo Wunian chanshi lu
Huang ci Qingxi ge youji
Huang Guan
Huanghua (mountain)
Huangji pian
Huang Kui
Huang Maoguan
Huang Mingqiao
Huang Qin
Huang Ruheng
Huang shizhong ci
Huang Tingshi
Huang Wendao
Huang Yuji
Huang Zhen
Huang Zicheng
Huang Zongxi
Huang Zunsu
Huang Zuo
hui
Hui
huida
huishi
Huizhou fuzhi
huizi
Hungai tongxian tushuo
huntian yi (Huntian yi shuo)
huogong (Huogong qieyao)
huozai

Ji'an (fuzhi)
Jibo
Ji Daji
Jidu jiao ru Hua shi
Jihe yuanben
Jiji
Jiming
Jimo

後序
後宮
侯應賓
胡安國
狐鼠縱橫之地
胡像
湖州 (府志)
華北 (華中) 地方
化成
畫革 (旁行)
化胡
化身
花園
淮安
圖容較義
寶有詮
黃檗
黃檗勸語 / 志
黃檗無念禪師復問
黃祠青溪閣遊記
黃觀
黃華
黃極篇
黃魁
黃懋官
黃鳴喬
黃芹
黃汝亨
黃侍中祠
黃廷師
黃問道
黃虞稷
黃貞
黃子澄
黃宗義
黃尊素
黃佐
會
惠 (王)
會大
會試
徽州府志
回子
渾蓋通憲圖說
渾天儀 (說)
火攻 (挈要)
火災
吉安 (府志)
計伯
計大奇
基督教入華史
幾何原本
寂基
際明
即墨

Ji'nan
Jiqing Hanmo lin
Jiren shipian
Jishui
jixie
jixun si
Jiali yixing
jiashu
Jiaxing (Canon) (fuzhi)
Jiaye tang congshu
Jia Yi
jiayi dafu
jiayin
Jian'an
jianfu
jian huo ou you
jian ke yu
Jianning
Jian'ou
Jianpingyi shuo
jian sheng
jiantao
Jianwen lu
Jianwen shufa ni
jian yao qiu zi
Jianye (Jiangkang)
jian zai di xin
Jiang Dejing
Jiang Cai
Jiang Fan
Jiangning xianzhi
Jiang Tong
Jiangxi tongzhi
Jiangzhou
jiao
jiao
jiao
jiao, she
Jiao Hong
jiaohua zichu zhi qu
jiaoke
Jiao Xu
Jiaoyao jielue
jiaoyi di
jiaoyou
Jiaoyou lun
jiaoyu
jie
Jieshu fayin
jie wei difang wei wanghua ji ye
Jie xiejian (genyuan)
jie xing cheng ren, qu ren wei lun, cha lun

jieyi
jin beican zou
Jin Bi

濟南
寄情翰墨林
畸人十篇
吉水
計偕
稽勳司
家禮易行
家書
嘉興 (府志)
嘉業堂叢書
賈誼
嘉議大夫
甲寅
建安
監副
間或偶有
見可欲
建寧
建甌
簡平儀說
見聖
檢討
見聞錄
建文書法擬
薦天求子
建業 (建康)
簡在帝心
蔣德璟
姜埰
江藩
江寧縣志
江統
江西通志
絳州
醴
教
交
郊, 社
焦竑
教化自出之區
校刻
焦勗
教要解略
狡夷地
教友
交友論
教諭
嗟
戒疏發隱
皆為地方為王化計也
揭邪見 (根源)
sheng xin, nei xin wei ren
結形成人聚人為倫察倫生心內心為仁
節義
今被參奏
金陸

J

Jincheng shuxiang (zixu)
Jindai Hanji congkan siban
Jindai Zhongguo shiliao congkan
jindi
Jinjiang
Jinhua
Jinling daoguan zhi
Jinling fanSha zhi
Jinling fengmao
Jinling tongji
Jinling tongzhuang
jinnian
jin qie xi yiwei guchang, wanxi yu er wang yuanyue, bibi shi yi
今且習以為故常, 玩細娛, 而忘遠略, 比比是矣

Jinru
jinshang
jinshi
Jinshu
Jinsu (monastery)
Jinxi jiyu
Jinxian
jingcha zichen shu
Jingjiao beiwen
jingjiao houxue
Jingjiao liuxing Zhongguo beisong zhengquan
Jingjiao tang beiji
Jingling
jingnuo
jingshan
jingshi
jingyan (jiangguan)
Jingzhi ju shihua
jing zhong
Jiushi
Jujie
ju ping, ze cheng wei xing ming, lin nan, ze xian wei bei zhi
居平則澄為性明臨難則顯為悲智
舉人
居士
ju you Shangdi hua er wei huren, huren huan fan er wei Shangdi zhe hu
詎有上帝化而為胡人, 胡人還反而為上帝者乎
卷 (卷末, 卷首, 卷下)
絕微同文紀
君
君子, 大夫

Kaifeng (fuzhi)
Kaishan (monastery)
kaishi
Kanda Kiichiro
kaoji
kaoman
keji
keji zhengnian erzhai ri
keji zhengzhi zhi zhai
keli

進呈書像 (自序)
近代漢籍叢刊四編
近代中國史料叢刊
禁地
晉江
金華
金陵道觀志
金陵梵刹志
金陵風貌
金陵通紀
金陵通傳
近年
今且習以為故常, 玩細娛, 而忘遠略, 比比是矣
金如
今上
進士
晉書
金粟寺
近溪集語
進賢
京察自陳疏
景教碑文
景教後學
景教流行中國碑頌正詮
景教堂碑記
景陵
梗樵
精膳
京師
經筵 (講官)
靜志居詩話
旌忠
九石
具揭
居平則澄為性明臨難則顯為悲智
舉人
居士
詎有上帝化而為胡人, 胡人還反而為上帝者乎
卷 (卷末, 卷首, 卷下)
絕微同文紀
君
君子, 大夫
開封 (府志)
開善
開示
神田喜一郎
考績
考滿
克己
克己正念二齋日
克己正志之齋
科吏

J - K

kexing
 Kezuo zhuiyu
 Kōnan nōson shakai no kenkyū
 Kongmen chuanshou
 Kong Shi hefu
 Kong Zhenshi
 kou, bi
 Kouduo richao
 Kuaixue tang ji
 Kunyu gezhi
 Kunyu wanguo tu (quantu)
 Kunzhi ji
 Kuoru

 Lai (Shizhang)
 Laiyang
 lanru
 Lanxi, Lanzhou
 Lanzhen caotang ji
 Langzhen Ji
 Laoshi
 laoshi Bao-lu
 Lengyan (monastery)
 lei sha gu mi
 Leiyang (xianzhi)
 li
 li chan
 Li Cheng
 Li Deng
 lifa
 ligong
 Lihuo jiyuan
 Li jiongqing Wocun
 Li Jiugong
 Likeng
 Li Madou ditu
 Li Madou jiaoyou renwu biao
 Li Madou tianlun wei huangtang
 Li Madou zhuan
 Li Qiyuan
 Li Rihua
 Lisao
 Lishi lu
 Lishui
 Li shuo huangtang huoshi
 Li Sixuan
 Li Tianjing
 Li Tingji
 Li Wangting (Yulong)
 Li Weizhen
 Li Wocun ji
 Li Xitai
 Lixiu gijian
 lixue
 liyan
 Li Yan

克性
 客坐贅語
 明代江南農村社会の研究
 孔門傳授
 孔釋合符
 孔貞時
 口, 筆
 口鐸日抄
 快雪堂集
 坤輿格致
 坤輿萬國圖(全圖)
 困知記
 廓如

賴(士章)
 萊陽
 蘭入
 蘭谿, 蘭州
 嶽真草堂集
 朗真璣
 老氏
 老實葆祿
 楞嚴
 類沙穀米
 耒陽(縣志)
 理
 禮儀
 李成
 李登
 曆法
 例貫
 蔡養孟言
 李罔卿我存
 李九功
 李坑
 利瑪竇地圖
 利瑪竇交遊人物表
 利瑪竇天論為荒唐
 利瑪竇傳
 李起元
 李日華
 離騷
 歷仕錄
 潞水
 利說荒唐惑世
 李嗣玄
 李天經
 李廷機
 李王庭(猶龍)
 李維楨
 李我存集
 利四泰
 勵修一鑑
 理學
 例言
 李儼

K - L

Li Yingshi
 Li Zhexi
 Li Zhi
 Li Zhizao
 Li Zubai
 Lianfeng (monastery)
 Lianshan (Suiyao ting zhi)
 Lian Zining
 lianzui
 Liangchao congxin lu
 Liang Chu
 Liang Jiamian
 liangjing
 Liang Wenkang
 liangzhi
 Liechao shiji xiaozhuan
 Liehuang xiaozhi
 Linchuan (Fu-chou)
 Linji
 Lin Jinshui
 Lin Xichun
 ling
 Lingfeng Ouyi dashi zonglun
 Linggu (monastery)
 Lingxi shuilu bingji
 Lingzhu
 Liu Benduo
 Liu Chuxian
 (liu)du shi dafu
 liuhuo
 Liu Qun
 Liu Ren'er
 Liu Tianxu
 Liu Tong
 Liu Wenlong (Yunzi)
 Liu Xiang
 liuxing Zhongguo
 Liu Yijing
 Liu Yuan
 Liuzhou
 Liuzi wenbian
 Liu Zongzhou
 Long'er
 longfei
 longpan huju (zhi xiang)
 Longqi (Yinyuan)
 Longwu
 lu
 Luling
 Lu Xiangshan
 Lunfei zoucao, Xu zoucao
 Lun Fo gu biao
 Lunyu
 Luo Dahong
 Luo Qinshun
 Luo Qinzeng

L

李應試
 李浙西
 李贊
 李之藻
 李祖白
 蓮峯寺
 連山(綏遠廳志)
 廉子寧
 鍊罪
 兩朝從信錄
 梁儲
 梁家勉
 兩京
 梁文康
 良知
 列朝詩記小傳(丁集, 下)
 烈皇小識
 臨川(撫州)
 臨濟
 林金水
 林熙春
 靈
 靈峯藕益大師宗論
 靈谷(寺)
 嶺西水路兵紀
 靈竺
 劉本多
 劉楚先
 (留)都士大夫
 流禍
 劉群
 劉仁兒
 劉天緒
 劉侗
 劉文龍(雲子)
 劉香
 流行中國
 劉一燒
 劉淵
 柳州
 劉子文編
 劉宗周
 龍兒
 龍飛
 龍蟠虎踞(之鄉)
 隆琦(隱元)
 隆武元年乙酉
 虜
 廬陵
 陸象山
 綸扉奏草, 續奏草
 論佛骨表
 論語
 羅大紘
 羅欽順
 羅駿曾

Luo Qing
luosha
Luoyang
Luo zongshi
Luo zu

Ma Chengxiu
Madou
Ma-li-nuo
Ma Liang (Xiangbo)
mani
Maping
Mailang Minghuai
Mao-luo
Mei-jue
Meng Ben
Meng Jian
mijiao
Misa ji yi (lue)
Misa li jie
mishi zhuzhong
Misuoguo
Mitogaku taikei
mi tong
Miyazaki Michio
Miyun chanshi nianpu / yulu
mizei
Min hai shimin
Minmatsu Bukkyō to Kirisotokyō to no sōgo hiran 明末佛教と基督教との相互批判
Min Shin Bukkyō shi kenkyū josetsu
Minzhong
ming
Mingdai Daojiao Zhengyi pai
Mingdai dengke lu huibian
Mingdai zhidu zhi congshang fangshu ji qi yingxiang 明代諸帝之崇尚方術及其影響
Mingdai zongjiao
Ming Daotong lu
Minggao
Mingji beilue
Mingji shiliao jizhen
Ming jingshi wenbian
Mingmo de Weishi xuezhe ji qi sixiang
Mingmo Fojiao yanjiu
Mingmo Zhongguo Fojiao zhi yanjiu
Ming Qing jian Yesuhui shi yizhu tiyao
Mingru xue'an
Mingshi jishi
Mingshi (kaozheng, luncong)
Ming shilu
Mingshi zong
Mingyu
Mo Di
Moni
Mo-xia-li-yue
Moxiang quyī
Mozi

羅清
羅刹
洛陽
羅宗師
羅祖

馬呈秀
瑪寶
瑪利諾
馬良 (相伯)
摩尼
馬平
麥浪明懷
卯羅
每爵
孟貢
孟簡
密教
彌撒祭義 (略)
彌撒禮解
密食諸種
米索果
水戶學大系
密通
宮崎道生
密雲禪師年譜 / 語錄
米賊
閩海士民
明清佛教史研究序說
閩中
名
明代道教正一派
明代登科錄彙編
明代宗教
明道統錄
明軍
明季北略
明季史料集珍
明經世文編
明末的唯識學者及其思想
明末佛教研究
明末中國佛教之研究
明清間耶穌會士譯著提要
明儒學案
明詩紀事
明史 (考證, 論叢)
明實錄
明詩綜
明昱
墨翟
末尼
莫門利約
默想取益
墨子

L - M

monshu
mou
Mou Runsun
muyi (mu yi er lai, muyi yuanlai)
Muzhai Chuxue ji

Nahuo xiedang hou gaoshi
Nakayama Kushirō
nazi
Nan'an
Nanbei taisheng
Nanchang
Nan ci lang
Nangong (shudu)
Nanji pian
Nanjing wenxian
Nan qingsi deng xunshi deng yamen
Nanshan (monastery)
Nan shao zongbo Mingzhen Shen gong kaoji xu
Nantang
Nanyong zhi (xu zhi)
neishu tang
neixin zhi ren linnan zhi beizhi wei ci keyi he yu tiandi zhi zhengqi
er bu hui yu yangyang lili zhi qingbo
內心之仁臨, 難之悲智, 惟此可以合于天地之正氣而不愧于洋洋灑灑之清波

Ni Yuanlu
Nongzheng quanshu
Nuo-si-duo-lue

Ōchō Enichi
Ōtani gakuhō
Ouning
Ou-sa-bi-yue

Pang Bi Ai Long
pangmen waidao
pangxing huage
Pangzi xinjing yiquan
Peng
Peng Weicheng
pi (shu)
pi fei si
Pi Tianzhu jiao xi
Pixie guanjian lu
Pixie ji
Pixie jie
Pixie shuo
Pixie tici
Pizhou (zhi)
Pizhou (LXYJ)
pinjie
Pinghu (xianzhi)
pingsu jiuxin lifa zhi ren
Po Li yi jian tian wang shi
Poluomen suanfa
Poxie ji

門主
鑒
牟潤孫
慕義 (而來, 遠來)
牧齋初學集

拿獲邪黨後告示
中村元次郎
衲子
南安
南北臺省
南昌
南祠郎
南宮 (署廩)
南極篇
南京文獻
南卿寺等巡視等衙門
南山
南少宗伯銘績沈公考績序
南堂
南雍志 (續志)
內書堂

倪元璐
農政全書
孺思多略

橫超慧日
大谷學會
甌寧
歐塞卑約

龐畢艾龍
旁門外道
旁行畫革
龐子信經遺詮
彭
彭惟成
關 (書)
關廩祀
關天主教檄
關邪管見錄
關邪集
關邪解
勢邪說
關邪題詞
邳州 (志)
砒州
品節
平湖 (縣志)
平俗究心曆法之人
破利夷僧天罔世
婆羅門算法
破邪集

Poxie lun
Purun (Weigi)
Putian
Puyang (Pujiang)

qi
qi bing
Qike
qi ning bu jue ci er pi zhi
Qishan (xian xiangtu zhi)
Qi Tai
qi xiang
Qiyang tongzhi Zhang Gengyu
Qiyang Zhang gong Gengyu
qi you Shangdi hua wei huren, huren dingsi zhi hou fu fan wei Shangdi hu

Qizhen shilu / yecheng
qizheng
qi zhi xuanmiao
Qian Bocheng
Qiankun zhengqi ji
Qian Qianyi
Qianqing tang shumu
qianshi
qingbo
Qingcha yiwu an (Qingcha yiwu you yi an)
Qingchu seng zhengji
(qing de) yan qi xiang
Qinghua xuebao
qingli si
Qingshu jingtan
Qingtai
Qingxi xiabi
Qingxi zhongjie ci
Qingyu
Qingzhang
Qiu Kaiping
qiu hai
qiu zhenfu yi shi Yesu wei ben
qu rou cun sui
Qu Rukui (Taisu)
Qu Ruyue
qusui (erdeng gong)
Qu Wanli
Quy zhiyan
quan
Quanzhou (fuzhi)
Quanzhou zongjiao shike

Ranxi
Rang'an
ren (ren ren)
renwu ge xun qi xing zhi ziran, ... ge you dang xing zhi lu
renxu
renyi (zongheng)

破邪論
普潤 (唯一)
莆田
莆陽 (浦江)

氣
氣稟
七克
其寧不決辭而闕之
岐山 (縣鄉志)
齊泰
氣向
岐陽同志張廣虞
岐陽張公廣虞
豈有上帝化為胡人, 胡人釘死之後復返為上帝乎
啓禎實錄 / 野乘
七政
氣之玄妙
錢伯城
乾坤正氣集
錢謙益
千頃堂書目
僉事
清波
清查夷物案 (又一案)
清初僧季記
請得言其詳
清華學報
清吏司
清署經談
清泰
青溪暇筆
青溪忠節祠
清宇
清漳
裘開明
泗海
求真福以識耶穌為本
去肉存髓
霍汝葵 (太素)
霍如說
去歲 (爾等公)
屈萬里
驅夷直言
全
泉州 (府志)
泉州宗教石刻

燃犀
讓庵
仁 (仁人)

人物各循其性之自然, ... 各有當行之路
壬戌
任意 (縱橫)

Riben cang Zhongguo jianjian difangzhi congkan 日本藏中國罕見地方志叢刊
rijiang
Rizhi lu
Rong Zhaozu
rou
roumu
ruchen zhi shu, zhuxian zhi lun
Ruchun
Ruzhou
Ruizhou

Sa-er-di-ni-a
Sairan igen
Sanbai nian qian de jianli Kongjiao lun — ba Wang Qiyuan de Qingshu jingtan

san can
sanjiao bing xing
sannian kaoman
Sanshan
Sanshan lunxue ji
Sanshui (xianzhi)
sanwei yiti
Sanyuan
Sanyuan
sangdi
Seiyō kibun
shan
shan bian
shan fan jiu jian
Shanfang zaji
Shanghai yudi quantu
shanren wenshi
Shanyin
shangbao si qing
Shangdi
Shangguan Fahu
Shangguan Xian
shangshu
Shangyuan (xianzhi)
shao sima
Shaowei tongjian jieyao
Shaoxing fuzhi
Shao Yichen
shao zhanshi
She Chongming
Shesheng bian
Shesheng Bingzhu Baijing zhubian
Shen
Shen
Shen Cong
shendao bei
Shen Defu
Shen Dejian
Shen Deming
Shen Guomo
Shen Guoyuan

撒爾底泥亞
采覽異言
三百年前的建立孔教論 — 跋王啟元的清署經談
三參
三教並興
三年考滿
三山
三山論學紀
三水 (縣志)
三位一體
三元
三原
喪地
西洋紀聞
善
善變
刪繁就簡
善房雜誌
山海輿地全圖
山人文士
山陰
尚實司卿
上帝
上官法護
上官憲
尚書
上元 (縣志)
少司馬
少微通鑑節要
紹興府志
邵懿辰
少詹事
奢崇明
攝生編
攝生炳燭百警諸編
申
沈
沈淙
神道碑
沈德符
沈德鑑
沈德銘
沈國模
沈國元

Shen Huai
Shenhuang
Shen Jiwen
Shen Jiefu
Shen Jingde
Shen Lan
Shen Lin
Shen Qi
Shen Que
Shen shao zongbo
Shensi lu
Shen Song
Shen Tonghe (Jiwen zi)
Shen Wending gong ji
Shen Yan
shenzhi
Shen Zhongyu deng zhugong jiushu
Shengchao zuopi
shengdu
shengjia
shengjiao
Shengjiao xinzheng
Shengjiao yueyan
shengmai
Shengmu xingshi
shengren yin renwu zhi suo dang xing zhe er
Sheng Ruosafa shimo
Shengshui jian
shengtū
Sheng Wannian
shengxian
Shengxiang lüeshuo
shi
shi
shibu
Shicheng (Shitou cheng)
Shi Dao er shi liu chuan ji jiu you jin cun
shidu (xueshi)
Shi'er A-bo-si-duo-luo Xing-bo-lu
Shi'er xin
shi fei
Shiji
Shi Jixie
Shijiazhuang
shijiang
Shi ke tan, San ke xi
shilang
Shi Le
Shilun
shipian
Shi Shengyan
Shishi yinian lu
shishuo
Shishuo xinyu (jianshu)
shi ti
shi xin

沈淮 (徽伯, 三洲公)
神皇
沈季文
沈節甫
沈經德
沈瀾
沈林
沈葵
沈推
沈少宗伯
慎思錄
沈淞
沈同和 (季文子)
沈文定公集
沈演
神治
沈仲雨等諸公舊疏
聖朝佐闕
聖 賣
聖架
聖教
聖教信證
聖教約言
聖脈
聖母行實
pinjie zhi 聖人因人物之所當行者而品節之
聖者撒法始末
聖水紀言
聖土
盛萬年
聖賢
聖像略說
議
師, 視
史部
石城 (石頭城)
zhi 釋道二氏流傳既久猶僅存之
侍讀 (學士)
十二亞波斯多羅性簿錄
十二信
是非
史記
史繼偕
石家庄
侍講
十可數, 三可惜
侍郎
石勒
十論
十篇
釋聖嚴
釋氏疑年錄
師說
世說新語 (箋疏)
實體
識心

S

Shi Youheng
shizhe
shizhong
shizi
shizi jiao (jiaogui)
Shizigang
shoubei
shoubian, shangce
shouwen
shouzu
shuji shi
shu langzhong zhushi
Shumu wenxian
shushu zhi xiaozhi
shuwu
Shuxiang jielue
Shuyan gushi daquan
shu yu Fushan fangzhang
shuzi
shuai ji
shuai qi ziran, ge you dangran zhi ze
shuai xing zhi dao
shui li
Shuilu
Shunyang
Shunzhong
Shuolue
shuoze
si
Sibu congkan
Sibu beiyao
Siji Ai xiansheng xingji
Siku quanshu
Siku shishou Mingdai leishu kao
Siling dianli ji
Siling qinzheng ji
sima
Sima Qian
simin zhi riyong yilun
Sishu Wujing daquan
Siyi baguan
Sonkeikaku
Song Qiming
Songshi jishi
Songxi
Songxue yuanyuan ji
Song Yiwang
Su Che
su fa shiyu
Su Jiyu
Su Maoxiang
Su Qin
Su Shiqian
Suzhou (fuzhi)
Suzhou (Gansu)
suigong

石有恆
識者
侍中
士子
十字教 (教規)
石子岡
守備
首編, 上冊
壽文
首座
庶吉士
署郎中主事
書目文獻
術數之小知
庶務
書像解略
書言故事大全
書子符山方丈
庶子
率己
率其自然, 各有當然之則
率性之道
水利
水陸
順陽
舜仲
說略
說者
寺
四部叢刊
四部備要
思及艾先生行蹟
四庫全書
四庫失收明代類書考
思陵典禮記
思陵勤政紀
司馬
司馬遷
斯民之日用彝倫
四書五經大全
四夷八館
尊敬閣
宋啓明
宋詩紀事
松溪
宋學淵源記
宋徽宗
蘇轍
素乏世譽
蘇及禹
蘇茂相
蘇秦
蘇士潛
蘇州 (府志)
肅州
歲貢

S

sui zi wei Ben Yu, yi bu neng duo zhi yi
 Sun Chengze
 Sun Dashou
 Sun Guangyu
 Sun Hongxu (Maogong)
 Sun Kuang
 Sun Pei
 Sun Quan
 Sun Shenxing

Takasu Yoshijirô
 taming
 taichang si
 Taihe county (Ji'an Prefecture)
 taiping (Taiping)
 taipu Li (Wocun) gong
 Taiwei jing
 Taixi shuifa
 Taizhou
 Tan Qian
 Tang Jingjiao bei e shizi shengjia
 Tang Jingjiao beisong ji zhu Tianjiao guji
 Tang Ruowang
 Tao Shiling
 Tao Wangling
 Taoyuan song
 Taoyuan (xianzhi)
 te biao Fo gu zhi yu li yi
 tejin zizheng shangqing
 ti
 tici
 tidu xuezheng
 Tian
 Tiandi
 Tianfang guo
 (Tianjiao) pianshu
 tianlun zhi rumen, tiantang zhi yinlu
 Tianqi
 Tianshan caotang cungao
 tianshen jiangjiao
 Tian Shengjin
 Tian Shi mingbian
 Tianshui bingshan lu
 Tianshuo
 tianti
 Tianwen
 Tianwen lue
 tianwen suanfa lei cunmu
 tianxiang
 Tianxue chuhan
 Tianxue chupi
 Tianxue chuzheng
 Tianxue chuagai
 Tianxue jijie
 Tianxue zaizheng
 Tianzhu ai wo

雖自謂資育，亦不能奪之矣
 孫承澤
 孫大綬
 孫光裕
 孫弘(宏)緒(懋功)
 孫鑄
 孫培
 孫權
 孫慎行

高須芳次郎
 塔銘
 太常寺
 泰和
 太平
 太僕李(我存)公
 太微經
 泰西水法
 泰州
 談遷
 唐景教碑額十字聖架
 唐景教碑頌及諸天教古蹟
 湯若望
 陶奭齡
 陶望齡
 桃源詠
 桃源(縣志)
 特表佛骨之餘力矣
 特進資政上卿
 體
 題詞
 提督學政
 天
 天帝
 天方國
 (天教)聯述
 天論之入門，天堂之引路
 天啓
 天山草堂存彙
 天神降教
 田生金
 天釋明辨
 天水冰山錄
 天說
 天體
 天問
 天問略
 天文算法類存目
 天象
 天學初函
 天學初闢
 天學初微
 天學傳概
 天學集解
 天學再微
 天主愛我

S - T

Tianzhu hong'en xu
 Tianzhujiao chuanxing Zhongguo (Siao)
 Tianzhujiao dongchuan wenxian (xubian, sanbian)
 Tianzhu jiaoyao (jielue)
 Tianzhu jing
 Tianzhu shengjiao nianjing zongdu
 Tianzhu shengjiao shengren xingshi
 Tianzhu shengjiao shilu
 Tianzhu shengjiao yueyan
 Tianzhu shiyi (shasheng bian)
 Tianzhu si hou Tian sui wu zhu hu
 Tianzhu yiwei er baohan sanzun wei
 Tianzhu zhengdao jielue
 tingshi
 Tôyô bunka
 Tôyôgaku bunken sôsetsu
 tonghui zhe
 tongjiaozhe
 Tongku jingji
 tongku yu shunie
 Tongqi (Linye)
 Tongrong (Feiyin)
 tongtu [situ] Yang gong
 Tongwen suanzhi
 Tongxuan xianying zhenjun
 tongzheng si
 Tongzheng xu
 tongzhi
 tongzhi Wocun Li gong Zhizao
 tu
 Tu Long
 tuibu
 tuoshen
 tuoyu

Ugai Tetsujô (Kiyô dônin)
 upâsaka Dalang

waihan (jiaoshou)
 waiting
 waiyi gongzhe
 Wanbao quanshu
 Wanfu (monastery)
 Wan Jiankun
 Wanli ershi nian renchen ke jinshi lilu bianlan
 Wanli yehuo pian
 Wan Quan
 Wansui (mount)
 wanwan tiandi
 wanwu yiti
 wanwu zhi sheng chang shou cang
 Wanyou wenku
 Wang Anshi
 Wang Chaoshi
 Wang Chenkui
 wangdi

天主洪恩序
 天主教傳行中國(蕭)
 天主教東傳文獻(續編, 三編)
 天主教要(解略)
 天主經
 天主聖教念經總版
 天主聖教聖人行實
 天主聖教實錄
 天主聖教約言
 天主實義(殺生辨)
 天主死後天遂無主乎
 天主一性而包含三尊位
 天主正道解略
 廷試
 東洋文庫
 東洋學文獻叢說
 同會者
 同教者
 痛苦經續
 痛哭于庶孽
 通奇(林野)
 通容(費隱)
 同徒[司徒]楊公
 同文算指
 通玄顯應真君
 通政司
 統正序
 同志
 同志我存李公之藻
 圖
 屠隆
 推步
 托身
 唾餘

鵜飼徹定(紀憂道人)
 大朗優婆塞

外翰(教授)
 外庭
 外夷貢者
 萬寶全書
 萬福寺
 萬建崑
 萬曆二十年壬辰科進士歷履便覽
 萬曆野獲編
 萬全
 萬歲
 萬萬天地
 萬物一體
 萬物之生長收藏
 萬有文庫
 王安石
 王朝式
 王臣襲
 王地

Wang Enmin
Wang Gen
Wang Ji
Wang Kentang
Wang Mang
Wang Shenxi
wangsui
wangqi suo zhong
Wang Qiyuan (yu Tianzhu jiao)
Wang Rongbao
Wang Shiyang
Wang Shizhen
Wang Shizhen (1634-1711)
Wang Tong
Wang Xijue
Wang Xiangjin
Wang Xiangqian
Wang Yangming
Wang Yinzen
Wang Yinglin (native of Zhangzhou)
Wang Yinglin (native of Shanyin)
Wang Yingxiong
Wang Yuntai
Wang Zaigong (Mengsu)
Wang Zheng
Wang Zhongmin
Wang zuo situ jiazhuang
Weicheng
Wei Chengfang
Wei Jun
Weishang (Weiyi) ren zhi yuanqi Zhuzuo ji
weishi
Wei Shi
Weishu
Wei Shuzi wenji
Weishuixuan riji
Weitan
wei wu wu xing
Wei Xi
Wei Yijie
Wei yi xie zhe yan
Wei Zhongxian
Wen Bing
Wenlin qixiu
Wenling
Wen Qixiang
wenren
Wenxiang
Wen Xiangfeng
wenxue
Wenyuan ge Siku quanshu
Wen Zaizhong
Weng Zhengchun
Wenze
wo (wofan)
wo Wang Fengsu

王恩民
王艮
王紀
王肯堂
王莽
王陝西
往歲
王氣所鍾
王啓元 (興天主教)
王榮寶
王世揚
王士貞
王士禎
王通
王錫爵
王象晉
王象乾
王陽明
王胤震
王應麟
王應選
王應熊
汪元泰
王在公 (孟夙)
王微
王重民
王左司徒家傳
惟誠
衛承芳
魏溶
唯上 (唯一) 人之緣起誅左集
唯識
衛湜
魏書
魏叔子文集
味水軒日記
緯譚
威海五行
魏禧
魏裔介
爲翼邪者言
魏忠賢
文秉
文林綺繡
溫陵
聞啟祥
文人
聞香
文翔鳳
文學
文淵閣四庫全書
文在中
翁正春
文則
倭 (倭番)
我王豐肅

wu
Wubu liuce
Wu Cheng
Wucheng (xianzhi)
Wu Daonan
Wudeng quanshu
Wu Ercheng
wufu
wu guo bu ji
wuhao
Wu Hao
Wujiang (Zhao Mingyang)
Wujin
Wujing zhenglue
wujun dudu fu
Wukang
wuliang dian
wuliang shou Fo
Wulin
Wunian Shengyou
Wurong
Wurong chudi shizijia bei xu
wu Ru
Wushan
Wushang jing
wu sheng
Wushi yanyu
wu suo wei er wei zhi zhi wei renyi
Wuwei jiao
Wu Wenliang
Wuxian
Wu Xiangxiang
wu xin wu zhuzhang
wu xing
wuxu
Wuyi daoren lu
wuyin
Wu Yingbin
Wu Yongxian (Benru)
Wuyuan
Wuzhen pian
Wu Zhijing
wuzi

Xi'an
Xichao chongzheng ji
Xifang dawen
Xifang you mingyi
Xiguo jifa
Xihe
Xijian Zhongguo difangzhi huikan
Xilai yi
Xili
Xi'ou
Xi rong lun
xishi

勿, 毋
五部六册
吳澄
烏程 (縣志)
吳道南
五燈全書
吳爾成
五府
無過不及
烏號
吳昊
吳江 (趙鳴陽)
武進
誣經證略
五軍都督府
武康
無梁殿 (無量典)
無量壽佛
武林
無念深有
武策
武榮出地十字架碑序
吾儒
烏山
五傷經
無聲
五十言錄
無所爲而爲之謂仁義
無爲教
吳文良
吳縣
吳相湘
無心無主張
無形
戊戌
無依道人錄
戊寅
吳應賓
吳用先 (本如)
婺源
悟真篇
吳之鯨
戊子

西安
熙朝崇正集
西方答問
西方有名醫
西國記法
義和
稀見中國地方志彙刊
西來志
西曆
西甌
徙戎論
西士

xitang
Xiwu
Xi Xia
xixue (Xixue fan)
Xizhu
Xizong shilu
Xia Shufang
Xia Yu
Xiazhan
Xianyou
xianzai
xiang
Xiangfu (xianzhi)
Xianggang zhujī shudian
xianghua yuanlai
xianghua lai (jing)
xiaochou
Xiaoling (you husha longmai / qin longmai
Xiaoluan bu bing ming shuo
xiaoshuo (lei)
xiaoyao zizai
xiaoyin
Xie'an ji
Xieda xuebao
Xiedu shiju
xiemo
xin
Xinbian Zhuzi jicheng
Xinchang
xin ken
Xinxue huming jie
xinyou
xingbu langzhong
Xingchu
xing dao ben tong
xing er xia, xing er shang
xingguan
Xingji
xingming
xingming
Xingming zhengjie
Xingqian
Xing Quan (Xinghua, Quanzhou)
xingren
xingsi
Xingsuo
Xingwen
Xingxin lou bian
Xingxue cushu
Xingyuan
Xing Yunlu
Xionglīng
Xiong Mingyu
Xiongnu
Xiong Shiqi
xiucaī

西堂
西吳
西夏
西學 (凡)
西竺
烹宗實錄
夏樹芳
夏育
夏詹
仙遊
現在
向
祥符 (縣志)
香港珠璣書店
向化遠來
向化來 (京)
小醜
孝陵 (右護沙龍脈 / 寢龍脈)
鸚鵡不並鳴說
小說 (類)
逍遙自在
小引
歇菴集
協大學報
邪毒實據
邪魔
新
新編諸子集成
新昌
心肯
心學晦明解
辛酉
刑部郎中
惺初
性道本同
形而下, 形而上
星官
行璣
性明
性命
性命正解
性潛
興泉 (興化, 泉州)
行人
幸巳
惺所
行閣
惺心樓編
性學情述
行元
邢雲鷺
熊嶺
熊明遇
熊奴
熊士旂
秀才

X

xiu dao (zhi jiao)
xiu e
xiuli
Xiuning
Xiushui
Xu Bida
Xu Changzhi
Xu Daren
Xu Dashou
Xu Daoyuan
Xu Fu
Xu Fuyuan
Xu Geru
Xu Guangqi (ji, nianpu)
Xu Kexing
Xu Leshan
xu li
Xu Qixuan
Xu Shaoyuan
Xu Shizeng
Xu Shoujie
Xu sima Fuyuan
Xu Song
Xu Wei
Xu Xingsuo
Xu Yuandu
Xu Yuanshou
Xu Yuanzhao
Xu Zang (Canon)
Xu Zongze
Xu Zuanzeng
Xuanhu Xu gong Guangqi
Xuanzang
xun'an Ying tian deng chu tidu Su Song deng fu xuejiao Jiangxi
dao jiancha yushi Wuyuan houxue nian jiajuan shisheng
巡按應天等處提督蘇松等府學校江西道監察御史武原後學年家眷侍生
訓導
遜國
巡視東城御史
荀子
亞卿
嚴
顏茂猷 (壯其)
嚴嵩
晏文輝
楊鎬
楊起元
楊淇園先生事蹟
楊若橋
楊廷和
楊廷筠
楊文忠
楊雄
洋洋灑灑
yaoqing
Yan (labourer)
Yan Maoyou
Yan Song
Yan Wenhui
Yang Hao
Yang Qiqiao
Yang Qiyan
Yang Qiyan xiansheng shiji
Yang Ruoqiao
Yang Tinghe
Yang Tingyun
Yang Wenzhong
Yang Xiong
yanguang lili

X - Y

Yangzhou
Yangzi / Yang Zhu
yao
Yao (John)
Yao Fu
Yao Guangxiao
yaoseng liudao
Yao, Shun
Yao Yongji
Yao Zuoduan
ye
Ye Langsheng
Ye Taijiao
Ye Xianggao
yi
yi bian chaoxi fenxiu zhu yan shengshou
yi ci hao huo sheng
Yigao
yiguan
yijiao
yijing shouzhū
yinan Shen Zhong
yi quan jinshan zhi longqi yi hu Xiaoling zhi youyi 以全禁山之龍氣以護孝陵之右翼
Yi-sa-ba-la-yue
yi Tianzhu jiangsheng wei huren, qi jiangsheng yi hou
Tian sui wu zhu hu 以天主降生為胡人，豈降生以後天遂無主乎
Yiwen luezhai
yi wu xing, yi you xing, yi wu sheng, yi you sheng
yixing sanwei
yiyou
Yiyang
yiyi
yizhi
yizhu
Yi zhuan
Yinfu jing
yinli
yinsi
yin yu xinghuai zhu xin, jiangge zhaoshi, junpeng huo zhi
Ying Hua (Lianzhi)
Yingtian
Yongchun
yong Xia bian yi
Yong Xia jie
you
youren
You Xu Zang (Canon)
you yun: lu wei shi, shi jue.
ren wei hulang, hulang yi jue ye? 又云，虜豕豕，豕絕。人畏虎狼，虎狼亦絕耶
youzi
yude
yudie
Yugang zhai bizhu
yu ge guan

揚州
楊子 / 楊朱
妖
姚
姚福
姚廣孝
妖僧流道
堯，舜
姚永濟
姚祚端
也
葉朗生
葉泰交
葉向高
夷
以便朝夕焚修祝延聖壽
以此號獲勝
遺稿
衣冠
異教
夷經首祝
義勇沈忠
以撒巴刺約
藝文略載
亦無形，亦有形，亦無聲，亦有聲
一性三位
乙酉
伊陽
裔夷
儀制
譯著
易傳
陰符經
廢歷
淫祀
因余興懷主心，鑒格昭示，郡朋獲之
英華（敏之）
應天
永春
用夏變夷
用夏解
有
友人
又續藏
猶子
論德
玉牒
鬱岡齋筆麈
與各官

Yugong
Yu Jideng
Yu Jiaxi
Yukei Hasabe
Yu Maozi
yulu
yu Ru jiao bing chi
Yu Shihui
Yu Shunxi
Yu Yizheng
Yu Yunwen
Yuzhou
yuan
Yuanben jiaoyue dizi xingshi
Yuan Dao
Yuandao pixie shuo
Yuan Hongdao (ji jianjiao)
Yuanling (old name for Yuanwu)
Yuan Ming Fojiao bian
yuanqi
Yuanran kuiyi
yuanwai lang
Yuanwu
yuanyi muyi (muhua)
Yueling guangyi
Yueyang
Yue Zhilu
Yunfeng
Yunjian
Yunqi (monastery)
Yunqi fahui
yunyun
zai zhong
zanshan
Zetsukō dōbun ki kaidai
Zeng
Zengding Siku jianming mulu biao Zhu
Zeng Eryun
zeng libu
Zeng Shi
Zeng Ying
Zeng Yugou
Zhanguo ce
Zhanran
zhanshu guan
Zhang Boduan
Zhang Cai
Zhang Cha
Zhang Daoling
Zhang Fakong
Zhang Geng (1686-1760)
Zhang Geng (juren 1597)
Zhang Gengyu
Zhang Guangtian
Zhang Gui

禹貢
余繼登
余嘉錫
長谷部幽蹊
余懋華
語錄
與儒教並馳
余士恢
虞淳熙
于奕正
俞允文
禹州
願
原本較開弟子姓氏
原道
原道關邪說
袁宏道（集箋校）
原陵
元明佛教編
元氣
原染虧益
員外郎
原武
遠夷慕義（慕化）
月令廣義
岳陽
岳之律
雲峯
雲間
雲棲
雲棲法集
云云
在中
贊善
絕微同文紀解題
曾
增定四庫簡明目錄標注
曾二雲
曾禮部
曾時
曾樸
曾於撓（without 'hand'）
戰國策
湛然（圓澄）
展書官
張伯端
張采
張差
張道陵
張法孔
張庚
張康
張康虞
張廣滋
張珪

Zhang Guozhi
Zhang Jimeng
zhangjiao Hang xiang /Zhongzhou
zhangjiao zhi fa
Zhang Jiu
Zhang Juzheng
Zhang jun
Zhang linggong
Zhang Mengnan
Zhang Minbiao
Zhang Mu
Zhang Qilian
Zhang Qinghua
Zhang Shi
Zhang Tao
Zhang Wenyi
Zhang Xiazhan
Zhang Yi
Zhang Yinnan
Zhang Yingjing
Zhang Yuan (Kaifeng)
Zhang Yuan
Zhang Zhaofu
Zhang Zhi
Zhangzhou
Zhao Dingyu shumu
Zhaojian
Zhao Mingyang
zhaomo
Zhao Yongxian
zhe
Zhejiang tongzhi
Zhe Li ouyan
Zhenfu baduan
Zhenfu jingdian
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Zhixu

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諸生
朱文公文集
朱熹
誅邪顯據錄
主心
朱彝尊
朱元璋
朱載堉

Zhu Zhifan	朱之藩
Zhuzhi qunzheng	主制羣徵
Zhuzi quanshu	朱子全書
Zhuzi yulei	朱子語類
Zhuzuo ji (Xu xiansheng mopian)	誅左集 (許先生末篇)
Zhuzuo ji yuanqi	誅左集緣起
Zhuge Liang	諸葛亮
zhuanli lifa	轉理曆法
Zhuang Hongyi	莊宏誼
zhun	准
Zhuo Erkang	卓爾康
Zhuo Fazhi	卓發之
Zhuozhong zhi	酌中志
zi	字, 子
zibu	子部
zichen	自陳
Zikawei (Xujia hui)	徐家匯
ziran	自然
zi wei	自爲
Zixing	子興
zi yimao yiqian	自乙卯以前
zizheng dafu	資政大夫
zizheng qing	資政卿
zizheng yaqing	資政亞卿
ziyou	自有
zizai	自在
zongbo	宗伯
Zong Li	宗力
Zongmen shenan	宗門設難
Zou Sanlang	鄒三郎
Zou Weilian	鄒維璉
(zou wei) guanyi lanru dumen, anshang wanghua	(奏爲) 遠夷闢入都門, 暗傷王化
Zou Yi	鄒漪
Zou Zhiyi	鄒之輝
zuzong genben zhi di	祖宗根本之地
zuiren	罪人
Zun Ru jijing	尊儒亟鏡
Zunsheng guan gao	尊生館稿 (不分卷)
zun wang rang yi ... Chunqiu dayi	尊王攘夷春秋大義
Zunzheng shuo	尊正說
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CHRISTIANITY IN LATE MING CHINA

Five Studies

PROEFSCHRIFT

ter verkrijging van de graad van Doctor
aan de Rijksuniversiteit te Leiden,
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volgens besluit van het college van dekanen
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by Ad Dudink.

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